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The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II. C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies: A Sacred Drama

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THE MYTH OF HORUS AT EDFU—II¹

By A. M. BLACKMAN and H. W. FAIRMAN

C. THE TRIUMPH OF HORUS OVER HIS ENEMIES: A SACRED DRAMA

THAT there were annual dramatic performances at Edfu, in which the victory of Horus of Behdet over his foes, his coronation as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, and his marriage with the goddess Hathōr of Denderah were enacted, is beyond dispute.² Having this fact in mind we have come to the conclusion, after a long and careful study of the texts to be translated and discussed, that large portions of the inscriptions forming that section of the 'Myth of Horus at Edfu' designated C³ are derived from the text of a religious drama performed annually at Edfu in commemoration of Horus' wars with Seth, his final victory, his coronation as king of a united Egypt, the dismemberment of the body of his foe, and his 'triumph' or 'justification' before the tribunal of gods in the 'Broad Hall'.

Junker⁴ has expressed the opinion, not without reason, that the god of Edfu, Horus of Behdet, was in his original form a warrior-god as well as a divine king, the stories of whose exploits rest ultimately on an historical basis. That basis, if we accept the theory propounded by Sethe in his *Urgeschichte*,⁵ is to be found in the wars waged in pre-dynastic times by the Horus-kings of Heliopolis, whose frontier town was Edfu,⁶ against the Seth-kings of Ombos and southern Egypt. Under the influence of the Heliopolitan sun-cult Horus, the warrior-god of Edfu, was equated with Rē or, more commonly, was assigned the position of that god's son. Accordingly, the legends describing the conflicts of Horus with his enemies were solarized, and these enemies became the enemies of Rē or Rē-Harakhti, and Horus of Behdet was represented as destroying them in order to protect the sun-god and uphold his authority. Finally, under the equally powerful influence of the Osiris-Horus Myth, Horus of Behdet was identified with Horus son of Osiris and Isis, and the battles, once supposed to have been fought against his own personal foes or against those of the sun-god, now became the war of revenge waged against the murderer of Osiris, and his victory resulted not only in his wreaking vengeance on the slayer of his sire and in his winning, as rightful heir, the sovereignty of Upper and Lower Egypt, but in his being proclaimed 'triumphant' or 'justified' by a body of divine judges. This is the version of the legend which forms the subject of our play.

As Junker has pointed out,⁷ despite the influence of the sun-cult, Horus of Behdet,

¹ See *JEA* xxi, 26 ff. Note that Rochemonteix-Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendera*, and Chassinat, *Mammisi d'Edfou*, are in this article referred to respectively as *E.*, *D.*, and *M.*

² See Junker, *Onurislegende*, 116 ff.; Blackman's essay in Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, 32 ff.

³ See *JEA* xxi, 26. ⁴ *Onurislegende*, 18 ff. ⁵ §§ 139 ff. ⁶ *Op. cit.*, § 151. ⁷ *Op. cit.*, 21 ff.

the old warrior-god, still preserved his identity in the Edfu reliefs and inscriptions, and he and Rē, or Rē-Ḥarakhti, though constantly confused, are even more frequently differentiated. Again, though Horus of Behdet and Horus son of Osiris and Isis are from time to time merged in one another, they appear more often than not as different gods. So much is this so that in Myth D¹ Isis is described as appealing to Horus of Behdet to assist her son, the youthful Horus, in his unequal struggle with Seth.² It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that in the reliefs illustrating Myth C the representations of Horus, in accordance with the usual conservatism and inconsequence of the Egyptians, are always labelled 'Horus of Behdet' or 'Horus, lord of Mesen', though often in the short speeches attached to the figures of other divinities in those reliefs, and always in the text of the play itself, Horus appears in the role of son of Osiris and Isis.

It can hardly be doubted that what is certainly a single literary composition, or at least a considerable portion of such a work, cut up into sections by the eleven reliefs which illustrate it, forms the text, or the main part of the text, of a religious drama. This text is inscribed in vertical columns to the left of each relief, except in the cases of Scenes ii and iii of Act III. In the former instance there are no such columns, and in the latter the text is continued above the relief in four horizontal lines.

How does the Edfu dramatic text compare with the Memphite *Creation Play*, published and discussed by Sethe in his *Dramatische Texte*?³ That play comprises a narrative text, short dialogues—introduced by headings stating who are the speakers—and what may be termed stage directions. The Ramesseum *Coronation Drama*⁴ presents the same features with this addition, that the stage directions make mention of the various theatrical properties required for the due performance of each scene.⁵ Sethe has suggested, with great probability, that the Egyptian religious plays, like those of medieval Europe, consisted of a narrative, recited by a reader, linking together a number of dramatic performances in which the players, by short set speeches, gestures, and actions, gave life and reality to the reader's story. Sethe aptly likens this narrative to the captions on a silent film.⁶ In the Edfu play there are only a few scraps of text that might possibly be excerpts from a narrative of this character,⁷ there are scarcely any headings,⁸ and there are no stage directions except in Act I, Scene iv, and Act III, Scene iii. The probable explanation for these deficiencies is, we venture to think, as follows. The Late-Egyptian uses scattered about the dramatic text⁹ suggest that a partially modernized version of the 'Triumph of Horus over his Enemies' was compiled by an Edfu scribe at some time or other during the late New Kingdom, and deposited in the temple library. In this version, apart from the two instances just

¹ JEA xxi, 27.

³ Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, pp. 1–80.

⁵ Op. cit., 91 f. and 99 ff.

⁷ See E. vi, 61, 2–3 (*hwt m-ddf*); 70, 9–71, 1 (*wb n-f-hkw-ib*); 73, 4–5 (*wd sgb-Nhs*); 73, 9–74, 1 (*i-in-dds*); 80, 11 (*dd-in-n*); 84, 15 (*iw wp-n-dds*); 89, 6–7 (*Hr m phty-f-s-s*).

⁸ See *dd mdw in hm-f* and *dd mdw in hmw-ntr*, etc., E. vi, 60, 11; 83, 3.

⁹ See, e.g., E. vi, 61, 12 (*mtw = m-dr*); 73, 4 (*wd sgb*); 77, 7 (definite art. with vocative); 84, 15 (*p-k*); 74, 1 and 88, 1 (*p-hb*).

cited, the conventional headings,¹ which introduce the utterances of divinities, kings, and other persons, in all religious and formal texts, and which are regularly employed in the Memphite and Ramesseum dramatic texts, were replaced by such phrases as 'Isis said to Horus', 'Thoth said', and the like, these phrases being incorporated in the narrative.² The view that our dramatic text is based on a late New Kingdom recension of this character finds support in the fact that the archetypes of Myths D and E, tales of much the same class as the 'Contendings of Horus and Seth', were clearly manuscripts of that period.³ Furthermore, a text on the inner face of the great girdle wall at Edfu, upon which all the inscriptions and reliefs composing the 'Myth of Horus' are to be found, informs us that 'this wall is inscribed conformably with the Emanations of Rē', that is, with material derived from old books.⁴ It is highly probable, therefore, that not only Myths D and E, but Myth C, and possibly the other two sections of the Myth as well, were copied from texts written on papyrus rolls, which had been preserved in Edfu temple-library from what to the priests of the Ptolemaic period must have seemed time immemorial.

When this version of our play was inscribed on the girdle wall, some curtailment was found to be necessary, in order to make room for the accompanying reliefs, which were thought to give the written words greater magical and prophylactic power.⁵ This curtailment was effected with little discrimination, the scribe who drew up the text for the engraver ruthlessly discarding all the narrative, apart from a few disjointed fragments, and so depriving us of most of the substitutes for the older headings. Thus a large number of the speeches and all the choruses are left without any indications as to the characters, or groups of characters, by whom they were to be declaimed or chanted, and the required information can be gained only from internal evidence, which is often decidedly indefinite, and occasionally from the reliefs. Finally—also no doubt to economize in wall-space—all the stage directions except three, which are to be found in Act I, Scene iv, and Act III, Scene iii, were omitted.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the loss occasioned in our version of the Edfu play by the omissions above mentioned is to a large extent repaired by the presence of the reliefs. These not only in some degree replace the headings and stage directions, but, at the same time, pictorially enumerate the properties, which in our play, as the reliefs show, included beside boats, weapons, clothes, masks,⁶ crowns and other ornaments, models of hippopotami, and at least one model of an enemy in human form.⁷ Such figures were usually, no doubt, made of clay, like those recently described by Posener,⁸ but one, that of a hippopotamus, employed in Act III, Scene iii, of our play, was made of bread or similar substance. Thus the dismemberment of the victim, enjoined in a stage direction and a speech by Isis,⁹ and illustrated in the accompanying relief,¹⁰ could be easily carried out.

With regard to the subsidiary texts accompanying the sculptured figures, our view

¹ I.e., *Dd mdw in N*.

³ See *JEA* XXI, 27.

⁵ See below, p. 37 f.

⁷ See *E.* XIII, pl. DXIII.

⁹ *E.* VI, 88, 1-2; 89, 6 ff.

² E.g., *E.* VI, 61, 3; 73, 9; 74, 1.

⁴ See Gardiner, *JEA* XXIV, 168; 173; *E.* VI, 14, 12-13.

⁶ Sethe, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 220, 227.

⁸ *Chron. d'Ég.*, No. 27, 1939, pp. 39 ff.

¹⁰ *E.* XIII, pl. DXIV.

is that though they appear to represent a divinity, demon, king, or other person, as actually speaking, they are mainly intended, particularly in the case of non-speaking players, to indicate the actions and functions of those characters. Thus, for instance, though it might appear that a demon is saying 'I gore with my horns him who plotteth against thy palace',¹ this does not necessarily imply that the actor playing the part of the demon actually uttered those words, but that this was the action he had to simulate. It must also be remembered that the names and short speeches attached to the figures helped to render them alive and so increase their magical efficacy.²

It will be noticed that there are differences and discrepancies between the reliefs and their subsidiary texts and the main dramatic text, characters sometimes appearing in the former who do not appear in the latter, and conversely. The explanation for this may be that the play included many actors who, though they had no speaking parts, were essential features of it, and who would have disappeared from a purely textual version so much curtailed as ours seems to be. Furthermore, it is possible that the considerations of space and economy, which seem to have led to the abridgement of the dramatic text, may also have caused the occasional omission from the reliefs of the representations of players with speaking parts, the very fact that their words were recorded in writing being considered sufficient guarantee of their escaping oblivion. But here it should be pointed out that apart from such discrepancies as these there is almost complete agreement between the dramatic text and the reliefs. Thus, the descriptions in the former of the wounds inflicted on the hippopotamus tally exactly with what is depicted in the latter. The main disagreement is that while in the reliefs the hero of the play appears in the guise of Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen, the warrior-god of Edfu, in the dramatic text he is the youthful Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis.³

Who formed the company of players who acted in the drama, and where was the drama itself staged? In addition to the actors and actresses with speaking and non-speaking parts, who are likely to have been members of the temple-priesthood or their relatives, and the Reader, who may have been the Chief Lector of the temple,⁴ the king was supposed to participate in the performance, though naturally his place would nearly always have been taken by a substitute. It is highly probable that there was also a chorus. This would, no doubt, have comprised in any scene those players present on the stage who filled the roles of friends and supporters of Horus, and it may have contained as well a number of temple-singers and temple-musicians.⁵ Furthermore, we may presume that the crowd of spectators, who must have been worked up to a high pitch of excitement and religious emotion by the scenes enacted before them, joined in the cry 'Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!'

The observation in one of the few surviving stage directions that 'this book'—

¹ *E.* vi, 68, 5.

² See below, p. 38 with n. 3.

³ Some of the subsidiary texts, however, as already stated above, speak of him, like the dramatic text, as son of Osiris and Isis.

⁴ See below, p. 36.

⁵ See Blackman, *JEA* vii, 8 ff.; *Worship (Egyptian)*, i, 7, in Hastings, *ERE* xii, 780.

possibly the narrative portions of our play¹—is to be ‘recited by the Chief Lector’, gives us some ground for supposing that it was this important priestly officiant who acted as ‘Reader’, when the annual performance of the ‘Triumph of Horus over his Enemies’ took place at Edfu. Accordingly it would probably be quite permissible to substitute [CHIEF LECTOR] for [READER] wherever in our translation of the dramatic text that heading has been inserted by us at the beginning of passages which we think it was some such functionary’s business to recite.

The fact that it is Imḥōtep who figures as ‘Chief Lector’ in the relief which illustrates the last scene of Act III prompts the suggestion that he was impersonated by the ‘Reader’ or ‘Chief Lector’ all through the play. On the other hand it must be remembered that Imḥōtep is not mentioned in the dramatic text itself and that his appearance in the role of Chief Lector in this Ptolemaic relief may be due to the deep veneration in which he was held in the late period, when he regularly bore the title in question.² However, it must also not be forgotten that the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu replaced a much older structure, and, furthermore, that there seems to have been some local tradition which associated the original building with Memphis and therefore with the period of the Old Kingdom. Thus the great girdle wall is said to be a similar construction to that first begun by them of old time (*mī šꜥꜣ-n tpyw-ꜣ*), ‘like what was on the great ground plan in the book which fell from heaven north of Memphis’,³ while another text states that the pattern which the Ptolemaic builders followed, when erecting this same wall, was derived from the ‘Book on Designing a Temple’ (*šfdt n sšm ḥwt-ntr*), which Imḥōtep himself was supposed to have written.⁴ Since tradition apparently associated Imḥōtep with the early history of Edfu temple, it may also have connected him in some way with the play which was performed annually within that temple’s precincts, may even have ascribed to him the authorship of it. This would account for his appearance in the role of Chief Lector in the relief illustrating a very important and significant scene. Seeing how ancient the above-mentioned *Creation Play* and *Coronation Drama* are, it is not altogether impossible that our dramatic text may ultimately be derived from a Third Dynasty archetype, a composition that may actually have been the work of Imḥōtep or put together under his supervision. If both these traditions were current at Edfu in Ptolemaic times, the priests would have considered it most appropriate to place a version of the play, of which Imḥōtep was thought to be the author, on the face of a wall of which he was, so to speak, the architect. In connexion with the claim that the girdle wall at Edfu was built in accordance with a design ascribed to Imḥōtep, it is interesting to recall the fact that this famous sage almost certainly planned the vast girdle wall which encloses the sacred precincts of King Djoser’s pyramid at Šakḥārah. At the least, therefore, the words of *E.* vi, 10, 10 indicate that some memory of this or of a similar great structure designed by Imḥōtep still survived among the priests of Ptolemaic Egypt, even if only in the form of half-legendary, literary allusions.

¹ We must not, however, disregard the possibility that by ‘this book’ is meant a series of denunciations and curses, not reproduced in our abridged version of the play, to be pronounced against Seth during the dismemberment, such as those preserved in the ‘Book of Overthrowing ‘Apep’ = *Pap. Bremner-Rhind*, 22, 1 ff.

² See, e.g., *E.* vi, 10, 10.

³ *E.* vi, 6, 4.

⁴ *E.* vi, 10, 10.

As has been already remarked, the play was a commemoration of the victory of Horus, son of Osiris and Isis, over his enemies, of his coronation as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, and of his 'triumph' or 'justification' before a divine tribunal. It was also, of course, a means of perpetuating, as it were, those events, of making their beneficial effects lasting.⁴ But it was something more than that; indeed, it is quite evident that one of the chief reasons for the performance of the play, in the reliefs illustrating which the king, wearing the head-dress of Onuris,⁵ three times assists in the slaying of the enemies of Horus, was to make the former, who was himself Horus, victorious over his foes, secure him a prosperous reign, and obtain for him the same 'triumph' as was won by his divine prototype. Full support for this view is to be found in various parts of the play. The Prologue opens with a panegyric on the king, which designates him 'son of the victorious Horus', likens him to the lord of Mesen, and acclaims him as a warrior and a hunter. In Act III, Scene iii the king is clearly equated with Horus, and is proclaimed 'triumphant in the Broad Hall' and conqueror of Asia. Moreover, in the same scene the king is stated to be 'triumphant over his enemies' along with Horus of Behdet, Ḥaṭḥōr, and Thoth. Finally in the Epilogue his name comes last in the list of divinities and cities whose foes have been overthrown. The king is thus, so to speak, the Alpha and Omega of the whole performance. Accordingly, our dramatic text may, in certain respects, be compared with the 'Ächtungstexte', for the play, whether actually staged, or produced only in the form of inscriptions and reliefs on a temple wall, served much the same purpose as the ceremonies

⁵ See Junker, *Onurislegende*, 2 ff.

performed with the 'red vases' and the clay figures of captives covered with written threats and denunciations¹—that purpose being the overthrow and destruction of Pharaoh's enemies.

Reference should here be made to the belief prevalent among the Egyptians that not only statues, but the figures carved and painted on the temple- and tomb-walls, possessed the qualities and powers of the persons or things represented.² Thus, it may well be that one of the reasons for having the dramatic text with its accompanying illustrations engraved on a wall of Edfu temple was to ensure that the god and king would continue to receive all the benefits that the annual performances were supposed to confer on them, if by some unlucky chance these performances were to lapse.³

As Sethe has observed,⁴ the speeches pronounced by the actors in the Memphite *Creation Play* and the Ramesseum *Coronation Drama* are very short. The Edfu play, however, contains many of considerable length, of which quite a few attain some degree of literary merit. In these respects, then, it is much less primitive and elementary than any other Egyptian dramatic work so far published.

Our play clearly consists of five distinct sections, forming a prologue, three acts subdivided into scenes, and an epilogue. To make the translation of the dramatic text more intelligible to the reader we have placed before each speech in square brackets [] the name of the character who was intended, or who we think was intended, to recite it. We have similarly indicated those passages which, in our opinion, it was the function of the chorus and Reader⁵ to chant or declaim.

In the section following the letters above words refer to the footnotes, and the similarly placed numerals to the notes in the Commentary. The numerals in the translation placed in square brackets denote the pages and lines in Chassinat's text, i.e., [63, 1] = *E.* VI, p. 63, l. 1.

(*To be continued.*)

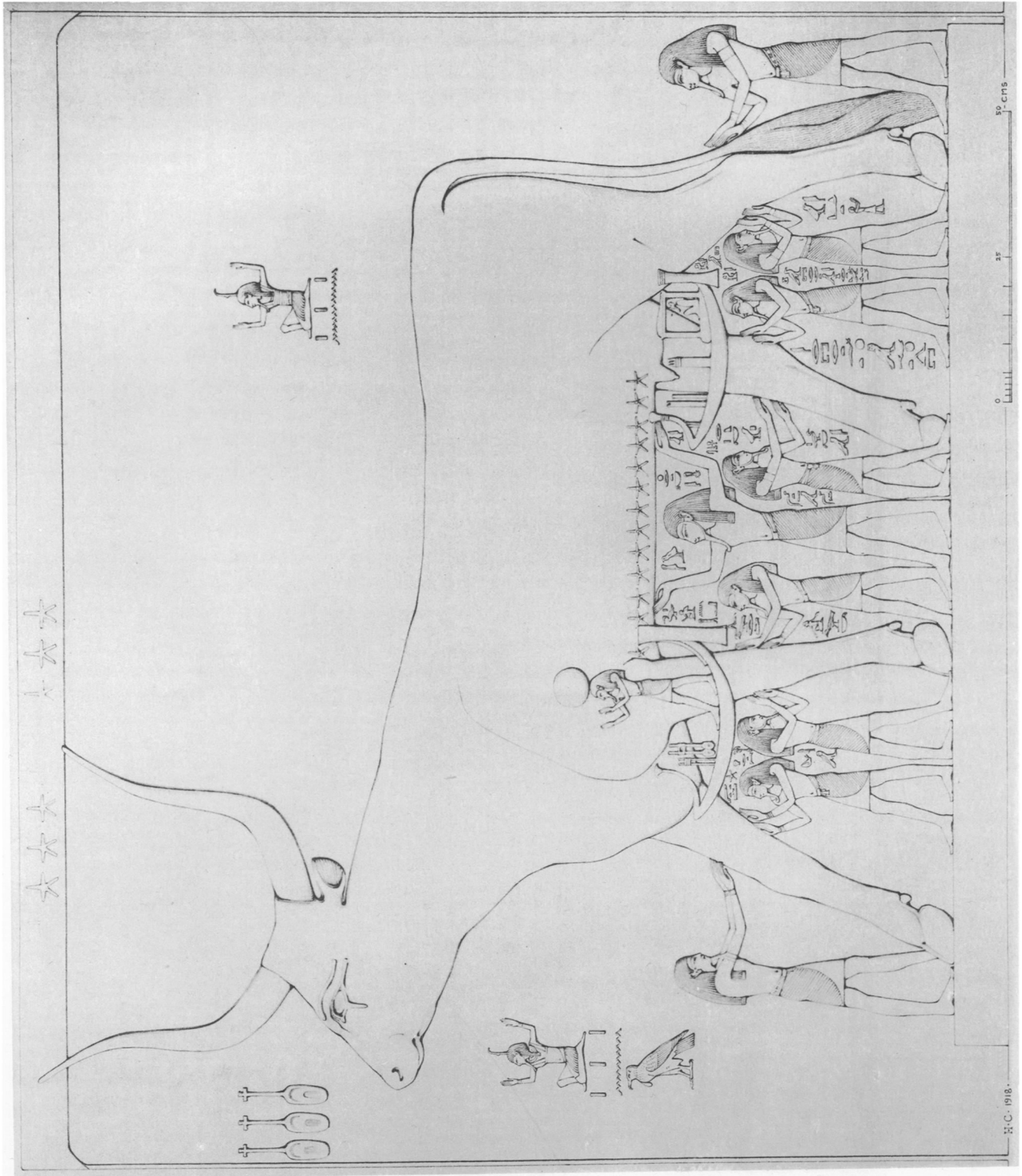
¹ See Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässcherben des Mittleren Reiches* = *Abhandl. Berlin*, 1926, Nr. 5; Posener, *Nouvelles listes de proscription (Ächtungstexte) datant du Moyen Empire in Chron. d'Ég.*, No. 27, 1939, pp. 39 ff. Cf. *Pap. Bremner-Rhind*, 25, 19, and 28, 6 and 17 = Faulkner, *JEA* xxiii, 171; 174 f.; *E.* VI, 235, 4 ff.

² See 'Conclusions' with footnote 127 in Blackman and Fairman's joint article in *Miscellanea Gregoriana. Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel I Centenario dalla fondazione del Museo Egizio (1839-1939)*, and n. 9 of the Commentary in the same article. Evidently to ensure the figures in the reliefs possessing this mysterious life the ceremonies performed at the consecration of a temple included the rite of Opening the Mouth, *E.* IV, 331, 10.

³ The texts and illustrations of Myth A were evidently supposed to be as magically efficacious on the king's behalf as those of Myth C, for the concluding sections of the former are all concerned with the protection of the Pharaoh and the overthrow of his enemies, the last of them describing a very powerful phylactery which could be employed for these purposes; see *JEA* xxi, 36.

⁴ *Dram. Texte*, pp. 95, 220, 227.

⁵ As has been stated above, only fragments of the narrative which the Reader would have recited at an actual performance of the play survive in the existing version of it.



THE CELESTIAL COW IN THE TOMB OF SETHOS I
from a drawing by Howard Carter

The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II. C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies a Sacred Drama (Continued)

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THE MYTH OF HORUS AT EDFU—II

By A. M. BLACKMAN and H. W. FAIRMAN

C. THE TRIUMPH OF HORUS OVER HIS ENEMIES A SACRED DRAMA

(Continued)

THE Introduction to the texts translated below was given in *JEA* xxviii, 32 ff., at the end of which it was noted (1) that the play consists of a prologue, three acts divided into scenes, and an epilogue; (2) that the names of the characters (including the Reader and the chorus) who were intended, or who we think were intended, to declaim the various speeches, choruses, and portions of narrative,^a are placed before the respective passages in square brackets []; and (3) that the numerals in the translation, likewise placed in square brackets, denote the pages and lines in Chassinat's publication. A few words are also required concerning the order of the reliefs. As these proceed from right to left the description of the figures contained therein must also proceed in that direction. Accordingly, of the two boats depicted in reference to any scene, that nearest to the right is to be accounted the first.

The present instalment gives the description and translation of the Prologue and Act I, together with as much of the autographed Commentary^b as refers to the said portions. At the end of the Commentary will be found the corrections of a number of printer's errors occurring in our joint article in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 399–428. Most of these are due to the fact that we could not, owing to the international situation, be supplied with a revise of the first set of proofs. Consequently the printer's misunderstandings of a number of the corrections, and certain new errors as well, could not be rectified. We feel it is appropriate to publish these corrections here, as we shall often cite the article in the following pages and shall frequently have occasion to refer to it in our future writings on Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts.

PROLOGUE

Published: Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, pl. i; *E.* vi, 60–3; xiii, pls. cccxciv–ccccxvi.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Behind Thoth, who is reciting from a roll, stands Horus of Behdet, holding a harpoon and rope in his right hand and accompanied by Isis. To the left of these three divinities Horus of Behdet once more appears, this time in a boat, with the rope in his left hand and in his right the harpoon, with which he pierces the head of a hippopotamus. Behind him is Isis again, followed by a small and much damaged figure of Har-Khentekhtai. On the water's edge, facing the boat, is the King (appropriately wearing the head-dress of Onuris),^c who also pierces with a harpoon the head of the same hippopotamus.

^a Only small scraps of the narrative texts are, as pointed out in *JEA* xxviii, 33 f., preserved in our version of the Edfu play. ^b Referred to by figures in the translation. ^c See *JEA* xxviii, 37, with n. 5.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

RELIEF

Horus of Beḥdet
Isis
Thoth
Ḥar-Khentekhtai
The King
—
—

DRAMATIC TEXT

Horus of Beḥdet, son of Isis^a
Isis?
Thoth
—
The King
Reader
Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above the first figure of Horus of Beḥdet: [63, 1] *Utterance by Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, with dappled plumage, who came forth from the horizon; a hero of great strength when he sallieḥ forth to battle¹ with his mother Isis protecting him.*

A, 2. In front of Horus: [63, 1] *I cause thy Majesty to prevail against him that is rebellious toward thee on the day of the mêlée.* [63, 3] *I put valour and strength for thee into thine arms, and the might of my hand into thy hands.*

A, 3. In a vertical line behind Isis, but referring to Horus: [63, 6] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Protector who protecteth his father, great Warden who wardeth off the foe. It was he who established the sky upon its supports.^b Successful are all the things which he hath done, Horus of the fierce countenance, who hath slain^c the Caitiff, Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky.*

B, 1. Above the first figure of Isis: [63, 4] *Utterance by Isis the great, the god's mother, Scorpion^d of Beḥdet, nurse of the Falcon of Gold.*

B, 2. In front of Isis: [63, 4] *I give thee power against those who are hostile toward thee, O [my] son Horus, thou lovable one.*

C, 1. Above Thoth: [62, 9] *Utterance by Thoth, twice great, lord of Hermopolis, him with the honeyed tongue, skilled in speech,^e who heralded the going of Horus to launch^f his war-galley, who overthrew his enemies with his utterances.*

C, 2. In front of Thoth: [62, 10] *A happy day for Horus, lord of this land, son of Isis, lovable one, who hath obtained triumph, heir of Osiris, offspring of the triumphant Onnophris, of great strength in every place of his!*

D, 1. Above Horus of Beḥdet in the boat: [62, 3] *Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, who on his father's behalf punished the Monster for^g what he had done.² He turneth himself about in his form of doughty harpooner and trampleth on the back(s) of his foes.*

D, 2. In front of Horus: [62, 4] *The single-barbed harpoon is in [my] left hand, the three-barbed in my grip. Let us slay yon Caitiff with our weapons!*

^a See below, p. 4, (b) = *E.* VI, 60, 11, and the speech of Thoth, p. 5, (d) = *E.* VI, 61, 3.

^b In his capacity as sky-god; see *E.* VI, 70, 2, and Junker, *Giza*, II, 48 ff. For the construction *s(w) smn·n·f* see Gardiner, *Eg. Gram.*, §§ 124; 148.

^c For *hms* 'slay', 'slaughter' see *Wb.* III, 96, 10; *E.* IV, 306, 8; 343, 8; VII, 45, 12; 149, 7; 159, 4-5; 168, 15-16; 202, 8; 215, 16; 265, 15-16; VIII, 26, 15; *M.* 125, 2.

^d See Blackman and Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 419, n. 75.

^e Probably *rh*, rather than *ikr*, *qd*.

^f For this meaning of *wḏi* see Erman, *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, xxxix (1912), 925; see also *E.* V, 125, 5-6; VI, 122, 4; 125, 2 (with Chassinat's n. 4); 127, 9.

^g After the Commentary had been completed Blackman came to the conclusion that the two passages *ḏbṣ* (var. *smṣ*) *Dns m ir(t)·n·f hr it·f* discussed in n. 2 and there translated 'who punished (var. "slew") *Dns* as something which he did on his father's account', should be rendered 'who on his father's behalf punished

E, 1. Above Isis in the boat: [62, 6] *Utterance by Isis the great, the god's mother in Wetjet-Hor,^a who protecteth her son in his war-galley.*

E, 2. In front of Isis: [62, 6] *I fortify thy heart, my son Horus. Pierce thou the Hippopotamus, thy father's foe.*

F. Above the King: [60, 6] *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), valiant in the fray, courageous with the thirty-barbed harpoon, who casteth (his weapon) at his foes amain.³*

G. In a single horizontal line above the King and the divinities in the boat: [62, 1] *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, a hero of great strength; most warlike emanation among the gods, who guardeth (s) the Path[s] of Horus^b (?); valorous one, of proud bearing^c when wielding the three-barbed harpoon, who travelleth swiftly in^d his war-galley;^d lord of Mesen, captor of the Hippopotamus,^e who exerciseth protection (ir s); Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky.*

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [READER.] [60, 9] *Long live the good god, son of the Victorious Horus, excellent offspring of the Lord of Mesen, bold fen-man,^f valiant^g in the chase,^h [60, 10] the Man of the First Lotus-leaf⁵ (?), battling Horus,ⁱ a man to seize the mooring-post in the water,^j lord of valour, Son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah).*

(b) TO BE RECITED BY HIS MAJESTY:

[KING.] *Praise to thee and a merry noise to thy war-galley, O Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky. I adore thy name [61, 1] and (the names of) thine executioners⁶ in thy train. I give praise to thy spearsmen, I revere thy harpoons recorded in the Emanations of Rē,⁷ I give thanks to thy weapons.*

(slew) *Dns* because of what he had done'. Blackman's view is that the *m* before *ir(t)·nf* is in both instances a writing of the preposition *n*, as it seems almost certainly to be in three other passages also cited in that note, namely *E. I*, 378, 16–17; *IV*, 78, 4; *VI*, 257, 15. The rendering, now rejected, to which we refer at the beginning of *n. 2*, was 'who punished the Monster to avenge his father'.

^a Or rather, perhaps, *Wetjes-Hor*, see Gardiner, *JEA* xxvii, 44, n. 1. ^b See Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, I, 174.

^c = *hy hwt*. For other instances of this common epithet, a possibly better rendering of which is 'of erect bearing', see *E. III*, 69, 18; *IV*, 344, 4; *VI*, 78, 12; *VII*, 132, 8; 152, 6; *VIII*, 35, 2.

^d For *phrr m chstf* see *E. I*, 424, 14; *III*, 137, 11.15; 257, 17; and cf. *phrr m sintf*, *E. II*, 45, 7.

^e We evidently have here some writing of *in h'w*, for *exx.* of which see *E. IV*, 59, 11; *VI*, 64, 7; 122, 7.

^f For other instances of the attribute *shly kn* 'bold fen-man' see *E. IV*, 59, 5–6; 212, 6; *V*, 214, 7; *VI*, 56, 2. 8; 57, 5; 61, 10; 83, 14; 91, 3. As in this passage *shly* is determined by *sh* in *VI*, 57, 5 and 61, 10. In *VI*, 56, 2. 8; 83, 14; 91, 3, the determinative is *sh*; in *V*, 214, 7, it is *sh*; and in *IV*, 59, 5–6; 212, 6, *sh*.

^g For *pr-c* see Junker, *Onurislegende*, 20; also *E. I*, 14, 13; *VI*, 62, 4, where the attribute is assigned respectively to Horus as *sh* 'spearsman' and *msnty* 'harpooner'.

^h To the references given in *Wb. I*, 469 for *bhs* 'hunt' add *E. III*, 348, 1 (obj. *mt* 'lion'); *VII*, 209, 1; *Urk. VI*, 19, 16 (obj. *cwt* = small game in general); Mond & Myers, *Temples of Armant*, I, pl. 103, l. 6.

ⁱ The epithet 'Battling Horus' is again assigned to the King in *E. VII*, 132, 1; it is also assigned to Horus, *E. VI*, 64, 8; 215, 7. Cf. *sh*, as epithet of the King, *E. VI*, 91, 2 (see also *Wb. II*, 216, 7) and of Horus, *Urk. VI*, 49, 7, and the designation *sh* 'Horus the Fighter', *E. II*, No. 20 (perhaps to be emended *Hr ch-c*?). In *P. Bremner-Rhind*, 22, 22, the 'sacrificer', *mnhwy*, is entitled *ch-c*, which Faulker, *JEA* xxiii, 168, renders 'warrior-priest'.

^j For *s n šsp mnt m nwy* as describing the King see *E. IV*, 213, 14; 374, 7; *M. I* 60, 12 (see Commentary, n. 5); as describing Horus, see *E. VI*, 66, 11. The expression, one would imagine, refers to the dangers incurred in mooring a vessel during the period of inundation, when the landing-places were under water. In this connexion see Blackman's remark, *JEA* xxii, 104, on *P. Chester Beatty* No. v, rt. 6, 4 f.

I have cast standing in the war-galley on water of twenty cubits. I have hurled^f with my right hand and swung with my left, as doth^g a bold fen-man.

ε As the speech was intended to be recited by an actor impersonating Horus, one would expect to find here and in the parallel passages (see preceding footnote) *mi ir štyt kn* rather than *mi ir-n štyt kn*, which in ordinary Middle Egyptian would mean 'as did a bold fen-man'. Probably *mi ir* was the reading in the original

- (f) [ISIS?] *The pregnant ones among the hippopotami give not birth,^a not one of their females conceives,^b when^c they hear the thud^d of thy shaft and the whistling^e of thy blade, like thunder in the east of heaven, like a drum^f in the hands of a child.*
- (g) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!^g*

ACT I

THE HARPOON RITUAL: PROPITIATING THE GOD AND HIS WEAPONS^h

SCENE I

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. II; *E.* VI, 63–6; XIII, pls. CCCXCXVII–CCCXCXVIII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Two boats. In the first Horus, lord of Mesen, armed with harpoon and rope, thrusts his blade into the snout of a hippopotamus. In the second Horus of Behdet, similarly armed, pierces the head or forehead, of a hippopotamus. In either boat is an animal-headed demon (heads of both figures destroyed),¹³ who carries a harpoon, blade uppermost, in his right hand and a knife in his left. On land, facing the boat, stands the king in an attitude of respect (his hands hanging down on either side of him).

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus, lord of Mesen } Horus of Behdet }	Horus
	Two demons	—
	The King	The King? ⁱ
	—	Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus, lord of Mesen: [65, 2] *Utterance by Horus, lord of Mesen, pre-eminent in Pe and Mesen, great god, pre-eminent in Wetjset-Hor, the lion pre-eminent in Khant-Iebt, who driveth (šn^c) Seth into the wilderness,¹⁴ goodly Warden of the Two Lands and River-banks, Protector who protecteth Egypt (Bꜣkt).*

A, 2. In front of Horus, lord of Mesen: [64, 11] *The first harpoon is stuck fast in his snout and hath severed his nostrils.*

version, and *mī ir-n* is due to the Ptolemaic redactor, who was influenced by the fact that the preceding verbs are in the *šdm-nf* form. It must be remembered that in hieroglyphic texts of the Ptolemaic period *šdm-nf* has lost its past meaning and frequently occurs in sentences where Middle Egyptian would employ the form *šdm-f*. We are, therefore, almost certainly justified in translating 'as doth a bold fen-man'.

^a This translation of *n ms-n* is based on the assumption that the *šdm-nf* form occurred in the archetype of the text.

^b Is = a mistake for *mm*, or did the archetype read *nn iwrt m rnmwt-sn* 'there is not one of their females that conceives'? We have adopted the second alternative.

^c *𓂏* = *m-dr* = *mr* in *mr*trꜥ; see Sethe, *ZAS* LXII, 6, (3). See also *JEA* XXVIII, 33 with n. 9.

^d *Hbꜣ* means 'mash', 'beat up' in a liquid, or 'triturate' in a mortar (*Wb.* II, 488, 3. 4), hence our rendering 'thud'.

^e See *Wb.* IV, 301, 1.

^f The reading seems certain (see Chassinat's note); *Wb.* IV, 207, 6, does not record this spelling but only gives *sh-t*.

^g This frequently recurring ejaculation was probably shouted out by the whole body of performers who represented the supporters of Horus, and, it may well be imagined, by the crowd of onlookers as well.

^h See *E.* VI, 63, 10 = p. 7, F. 1.

ⁱ The dramatic text seems to indicate the king's presence, but assigns him no speaking part; see below, p. 8, n. i.

B. Above the demon in the first boat: [65, 4] *Utterance by Chief-of-the-Two-Lands-when-he-riseth: I guard thee from him who is hostile to thee, I protect^a thy Majesty with my charm(s). I rage against thy foes as a savage baboon, I lay low thine enemies in (thy) path. I protect^b thy Majesty every day. I am the first of thy crew.*

C. The King's address to the first harpoon:^c [64, 12] *The first of the weapons which rushed after him who assailed him^d (Horus), and took the breath from the snout of the Hippopotamus.*

D, 1. Above Horus of Behdet: [65, 10] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, the Avenger who exacteth retribution from That One in Retribution-town,^e who overthroweth his enemies [in] the Place of Piercing.*

D, 2. In front of Horus of Behdet: [65, 7] *The second harpoon is stuck fast in his forehead, it hath cleft the crown of his head.*

E. Above the demon in the second boat: [65, 12] *Utterance by Offerer-who-portioneth-his-Offerings: I am with thee in the mêlée^f that I may punish the transgressions of thine enemies (sic). I break^g his bones, I smash his vertebrae, I crunch^h his flesh, I swallow^h his gore.*

F, 1. Above the King: [63, 9] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rē, Lord of Diadems, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), Priest and Minstrel (ihy) of Horus of Behdet, who propitiateth the god and his harpoons.*

F, 2. The King's address to the second harpoon: [65, 8] *Thy lance which broughtⁱ in the Caitiff though he was afar; it hath cleft the crown of the head of the Hippopotamus.*

G. In a single horizontal line above the figures and their accompanying inscriptions: [63, 12] *Praise to thee, praise to thy name, Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, goodly wall . . . (rest destroyed).*

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [HORUS.] [64, 3] *[The first harpoon is stuck fast] in his snout and hath severed his nostrils. The blade taketh hold in the head of the Hippopotamus in the Place of Confidence.*

(b) [CHORUS.] *O Horus,^j fair are thy trappings of giraffe's^k hair, thy net (ḥt)^l which is*

^a For *gs-dp* as a verb see *Wb.* v, 201, 4.

^b For the paradigm *tw t r f sdm* see Piehl, *Texte provenant du grand temple d'Edfou, Extrait des Actes du X^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, session de Genève 1894, Section IV (Leyden, 1896), p. 114, n. 4.

^c The direction in which the signs face indicate that these words are assigned to the King, as are the similarly placed lines of text in the subsequent scenes of this act.

^d This writing of *th* with the meaningless ⲟ is common in Ptolemaic texts; see, e.g., Junker, *Gramm.*, § 47.

^e *Db*, the old name of Edfu, here rendered 'Retribution-town' in order to preserve the play on words.

^f For this word see Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 33 f. and 157.

^g For *exx.* of *sw* 'break' see *E.* I, 559, 3 (*sw ḥw* 'who breaks bones'); *P. Bremner-Rhind*, 23, 20; 24, 4. 5. 6; and Faulkner's note in *JEA* XXIII, 176. In *E.* VI, 184, 6, *sw* means 'break off' the leaves or twigs of a tree.

^h For other *exx.* of the verb *sm* with *t(w)r* as object see *E.* VI, 66, 2; 68, 12; 72, 1; 75, 8; VII, 324, 10. Despite *Wb.* I, 381, 4 *t(w)r*, not *wtr* is almost certainly the correct reading of ⲟ for as Gardiner points out it is surely the old word ⲟ ⲟ ⲟ , *Wb.* v, 386, 13.

ⁱ For this verb *mw* see *Wb.* II, 221, 1.

^j For this use of *pw* see Gardiner, *Gramm.*, p. 87 with n. 2.

^k In a note on *P. Bremner-Rhind*, I, 4, Faulkner, *JEA* XXII, 132, suggests that the meaning here is 'giraffe's hide', though elsewhere the word means 'wig', *P. Bremner-Rhind*, loc. cit., and 'tresses', *Herdsman*, 5. But possibly the Egyptian poet had in mind some military accoutrement decorated with 'giraffe-tails' or the hair taken from them.

^l See also *E.* VI, 79, 8 = *JEA* xxx, 3, (a).

Min's and thy shaft which belongeth to the spear of Onuris. Thine arm was the first to cast (the harpoon^a). . . . [64, 5] Those (?) upon the banks rejoice^b at the sight of thee, as (at) the rising of Sothis at the year's beginning, when they behold thy weapons raining down in mid-stream like the moon(-beams) when the sky is peaceful.¹⁶ Horus is in his bark like Wnty,¹⁷ having overthrown the hippopotami from his war-galley.

(c) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

(d) [HORUS.] *[The second harpoon is stuck fast] in his forehead, it hath cleft^c the crown of the head of the foes (sic).*

(e) [CHORUS.] *Grasp firmly the harpoon, breathe the air in^d Chemmis, O lord of Mesen, captor of the Hippopotamus, creator of joy, goodly Falcon who boardeth his boat and taketh to the river¹⁸ in his war-galley; the Man of the First Lotus-leaf (?) . . . battling Horus, the Man of the First Lotus-leaf (?); those who are in the water [are afraid of him],¹⁹ awe of him is in^e those who are on the bank; thou subjugator (dr) of every one, thou whose . . . are strong,^f the Perverse One (Nbḏ) in the water (?)^g feareth thee.*

Thou smitest and woundest^h (?) as if it were Horusⁱ who cast (the harpoon), even the Victorious Bull, Lord of Prowess^j (?). [64, 10] The Son of Rēc hath done for Horus even as Horus himself did, (yea) the Son of <Rēc> hath done likewise.

Let thy talons grip the second harpoon.

(f) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

SCENE II

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. III; *E.* VI, 66–8; XIII, pls. CCCXCIX–D.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Two boats. In the first Horus, lord of Mesen, armed with harpoon and rope, pierces a hippopotamus in the neck. In the second Horus of Behdet, similarly armed, wounds the head^k (?) of a hippopotamus (destroyed). In either boat is an attendant demon, armed as in the preceding relief. The first demon is bull-headed and so probably was the second. The King stands at the water's edge, facing the boats, with his hands raised in adoration.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus, lord of Mesen } Horus of Behdet } Two Demons	Horus
	_____	_____
	The King	Isis
	_____	_____
		Reader
		Chorus

^a See Junker, *Onurislegende*, 6.

^b For this meaning of *ibi* see *Wb.* I, 7, 4.

^c $\overline{\text{XO}}$ reads *tš'nf*; cf. *E.* IV, 213, 14; VI, 65, 7. 9.

^d Sc. $\overline{\text{O}}^{\text{C}}$.

^e $\overline{\text{mm}}$ probably = *m* here; see also *E.* VI, 238, 11.

^f Does $\overline{\text{m}}$ read *šny* here and mean 'bristles', a reference to *sr n mmy* above (*E.* VI, 64, 4)?

^g For *hrt* 'water' see *Wb.* III, 144, 4; *E.* IV, 213, 13.

^h A writing of *wd-k stw* (see *Wb.* IV, 353, 13)?

ⁱ The wording of this paragraph suggests that it is addressed to the King, though in that case one would have expected the accompanying relief to depict him wielding a harpoon, as does that illustrating the Prologue. The words 'Let thy talons, etc.' are again, evidently, addressed to Horus.

^j *Nb* ? Hardly a writing of *nb mkt* 'Master of Protection'.

^k See *E.* VI, 67, 2; 68, 7.

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus, lord of Mesen: [68, 2] *Utterance by Horus, lord of Mesen, great god, lord of the sky, wall of stone round about Egypt (Bꜣḳt), excellent protector, guardian of the temples, who driveth back the Perverse One (Nbd) from the Two Outpourings, the goodly Watchman of the Fortress.*²⁰

A, 2. In front of Horus, lord of Mesen: [67, 9] *The third harpoon is stuck fast in his neck,^a its barbs bite into^b his flesh.*

B. Above the demon in the first boat: [68, 4] *Utterance by Bull-of-the-Two-Lands: I assault²¹ him who cometh to profane^c thy palace. I gore^d with my horns him who plotteth against it. Blood on my horns and dust behind me²² for every^e violator of thy nome.*

C. The King's address to the third harpoon: [67, 10] *Make a slaughtering! Let its barb bite into^f the neck of the hippopotamus.*

D, 1. Above Horus of Behdet: [68, 10] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, bird-shape in the midst of his bark, who trampleth on . . . against him.*

D, 2. In front of Horus of Behdet: [68, 7] *The fourth harpoon is stuck fast in his pate, it hath severed the vessels of his head^g (?).*

E. Above the demon in the second boat: [68, 12] *Utterance by Black-Bull:^h I eat the f[lesh] (?), I swallow the gore, of them that cause alarmⁱ to thy temple. I turn my face toward him who cometh against thy house, I drive away the Caitiff from the temples^j (?).*

F, 1. Above the King: [66, 4] *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rē, lord of diadems, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah).*

F, 2. The King's address to the fourth harpoon: [68, 8] *[My] horn goreth^k the marauder when he sheweth himself. (To be repeated) 4 <times> (?); it hath sundered the vessels in the head of the hippopotamus.*


G. The line of inscription [66, 7–9] running along the top of the relief is too much broken to translate.

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [HORUS.] [66, 10] *The [third] harpoon is stuck fast in his neck, its barbs bite into his flesh.*

^a Cf. *E.* XIII, pl. D.

^b For *ḥwḥ*. But see, perhaps, Blackman, *JEA* XVI, 64, (5). *ḥw* lit. means 'swallow'. The words *ḥwḥwḥ* *ḥwḥwḥ* occur again in *E.* VI, 66, 10.



^c *Ksm* in the sense of 'violate', 'profane', a sacred building occurs again, *E.* VI, 332, 16. The usual meaning seems to be 'assault', 'attack', for which see *E.* III, 5, 1; 33, 12; V, 48, 3; VI, 14, 9; 50, 10; 237, 13; VII, 113, 3; VIII, 26, 13; 62, 17; *D.* II, 182, 11–12.

^d For a good example of *ḥwn* 'gore' see  'He is like a bull which gores him who attacks him', *E.* I, 442, 17; see also *E.* IV, 66, 6; VI, 178, 16; *M.* I41, 15–16. In *Urk.* VI, 81, 9, *ḥwn* is used of the 'bite' of snakes, where the parallel text, 81, 10, gives *psḥ*.

^e For this use of the definite article *p* in conjunction with a noun and *nb* 'every', 'any', see Blackman, *JEA* XXVII, 87, n. 16.



^f For *sm* + *m* with this meaning see *Wb.* IV, 45, 8.

^g Emending *n tpḥ*.

^h The apparent  is evidently a badly formed .

ⁱ For *ḥri* 'strike fear into', 'alarm', with the preposition *n* see *Wb.* III, 147, 11.

^j *Ḥwwt nṯrw*?

^k Reading *wšm ḥb[i]* <*ḥw*>. There is perhaps a trace of  after *ḥb*, the 1st pers. sing. suffix; cf.  'my horn gores the body of thy foes', *E.* VI, 178, 8, where, as in our passage, *wšm* has no determinative.

(b) [CHORUS.] *Hail to thee, the one that sleepeth alone, that communeth with his own heart (only),^a a man to seize the mooring-post in the water.*

(c) [ISIS.] *Cast (thy harpoon), I pray thee, at the mound of the Savage Beast.²³ See, thou art on a mound clear of bushes,^b a shore^c free from scrub. Fear not his awfulness,^d flee not because of them that are in the water.^e Let thy harpoon fasten on to him, my son Horus.*

(d) [READER.] *Isis said to Horus:*

(e) [ISIS.] *Thy foes are fallen beneath thee, (so) eat thou the flesh of the neck, the abomination [67, 1] of women.^f*

The noise of lamentation is in the southern sky, wailing is in the northern sky, the noise of the lamentation of my brother Seth. My son Horus hath him fast holden.

(f) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

(g) [HORUS.] *The [fourth] harpoon is stuck fast in his pate, it hath cut open the vessels of his head (?), the back parts in his head.*

(h) [CHORUS.] *Grasp the harpoon which Ptaḥ,^g the goodly guide, fashioned for the Fen-goddess,²⁴ which was fashioned in copper for (thy) mother Isis.*

(i) [ISIS.] *I have made raiment for the Fen-goddess, for Tayt,²⁵ Šdt, Sothis, Dꜣyt,^h and Our Lady of the Chase.*

[67, 5] *Be firm on thy feet against yon Hippopotamus, hold him fast with thy hand.*

(j) [HORUS.] *I have cast (my harpoon) at the Lower-Egyptian Bull and sore wounded Terrible-Face,ⁱ ploughing up the water with my (?) . . . from upon the bank (?). I reach (?) the water and approach the river (? itrw?).*

(k) [ISIS.] *Let thy harpoon fasten on to him, my son Horus, (on to) yon enemy of thy father. Drive^j thy blade into [him], my son Horus, that thy shaft may bite into his skin,^k let thine hands drag yon Caitiff. . . .*

SCENE III

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. IV; E. VI, 69-72; XIII, pls. DI-DII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Two boats. In the first Horus, lord of Mesen, and in the second Horus of Beḥdet, armed as before. Both Horus-gods pierce a hippopotamus

^a Cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 41 f. For the epithet 'a man to seize the mooring-post in the water' see above, p. 4, n. j.

^b *Wb.* v, 109, 2, tentatively gives 'castor-oil bush' as the meaning of *kꜣkꜣ*, comparing the word with the Greek *κίκυ*. It might be pointed out that castor-oil bushes grow thickly on the banks of the Nile in Lower Nubia at the present day. Faulkner in a note on *P. Bremner-Rhind*, 18, 25, in *JEA* XXIII, 15, observes that this identification is accepted by Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen*, 70, 164, and *Kémi* II, 102, but disputed by Dawson, *Aegyptus* x, 66. Gardiner is of the opinion that *kꜣkꜣ* is a general word for 'bush', 'brush', and refers us to his *Admonitions*, p. 86, and to Edgerton and Nelson, *Historical Records*, p. 26, n. 33a.


^c *Mryt* is clearly to be read here in view of the suffix 's attached to *bḥ*. For *bḥ* see *Wb.* I, 468, 6.

^d Reading *šꜣyt*[f], with [ḥ] instead of [ḥ].

^e Here with crocodile-determinative; see Commentary, n. 19. *M bhn n imyw-mw* occurs again in *E.* VI, 79, 10; 81, 2.


^f Is this a reference to some taboo which forbade women to eat the flesh from a hippopotamus' neck?

^g Cf. *E.* VI, 83, 12, and perhaps also *E.* VI, 74, 6.

^h For *Šdt* and *Dꜣyt* see *Wb.* IV, 565, 20-22; V, 519, 5. The word , *Wb.* v, loc. cit., 6-11, suggests that the latter goddess was connected with cloth and clothing.

ⁱ Seth in the guise of a crocodile; see also *E.* I, 69, 6; IV, 78, 9; 214, 1; VI, 67, 5; 119, 6; 149, 3; 160, 10.

^j Lit. 'drive it for thee, (namely) thy blade'. For this transitive use of *hꜣ* see *Wb.* II, 475, 41.

^k Emending ; the scribe has given the word the determinative of *ntt* 'cord', 'fetter'.

in the back (or flank). In either boat an attendant demon bearing the usual weapons. The demon in the second boat is lion-headed and the other, whose head is badly mutilated, may be also. The King stands on land, facing the boats, in the same posture as in Scene I.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus, lord of Mesen } Horus of Behdet }	Horus
	Two Demons	—
	—	Isis
	The King	—
	—	Reader
	—	Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus, lord of Mesen: [71, 10] *Utterance by Horus, lord of Mesen, great god, lord of the sky, goodly spearsman in Retribution-Town (Dḥ), goodly watcher in the Two Lands and River-banks, who protecteth the cities and safeguardeth (mk) the provinces, falcon of great strength pre-eminent in Pe and Mesen,^a lion pre-eminent in Thel.*

A, 2. In front of Horus, lord of Mesen: [71, 5] *The fifth harpoon is stuck fast in his flank, it hath cleft open his ribs.*

B. Above the demon in the first boat: [71, 12] *Utterance by Shining-Bull: I cut out^b the hearts of those who fight^c against thy Behdet, I tear out the hearts of thy foes, I swallow the gore of those who are hostile to thy city, I taste the kidneys^d of thine enemies.*

C. The King's address to the fifth harpoon: [71, 7] *The first arrow which hath no rival, the fifth^e of the weapons, it hath cleft open the ribs of the Lower-Egyptian Bull.*

D, 1. Above Horus of Behdet: [72, 7] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, the Protector who protecteth the cities and provinces, who spreadeth his arms around Upper and Lower Egypt, his Mesen being at the forefront thereof.*

D, 2. In front of Horus of Behdet: [72, 3] *The sixth harpoon is stuck fast in his ribs, it hath sundered his vertebrae.*

E. Above the demon in the second boat: [72, 9] *Utterance by He-loveth-Solitude: I sharpen my teeth^f in order to bite thy foes. I whet my talons to seize hold of their skin(s).*

F, 1. Above the King: [69, 2] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, (Blank), Son of Rē, Lord of Diadems, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), winner of triumph as (?)^g a lion, who giveth thanks to the sacred harpoon.*

F, 2. The King's address to the sixth harpoon: [72, 5] *The sixth harpoon which devoureth everyone^h that confronteth it; it hath sundered the vertebrae of the back(s) of thy foes.*

^a For the relationship of Pe with Mesen and their connexion with the cult of Horus at Tīrw (Sile), as well as for the identification of Horus of Edfu with the local lion-god of the last-mentioned place, see Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 162, and n. 20 of the Commentary.

^b *Bsk* 'cut out', 'eviscerate', occurs again with *ibw* in *E.* VI, 86, 12; VII, 128, 10; 142, 14; 201, 5; 214, 2; 323, 7; *M.* 147, 6. In *E.* VII, 201, 5, it has as object *btmw:f*.

^c For the verb *bcr*, derived from the name of the god Baal, see *Wb.* I, 447, 14.

^d See *Wb.* v, 445, 16, and *E.* VI, 127, 12.

^e See Chassinat's n. 7.

^f Blackman & Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 420, n. 96.

^g *mw* for *m*?

^h Reading *cm iy nb m-h'w:f*.

G. In a single horizontal line (much damaged) along the top of the relief: [69, 4] . . . *adoring thine image, making obeisance to thy form . . . thine ancestors . . . thy Majesty prevaieth over thy foes. Thy Majesty placeth them as a protection round about Mesen, unendingly and unceasingly for ever.*

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [HORUS.] [69, 8] *The fifth harpoon is stuck fast in his flank,^a it hath cleft open [his] ribs.*

(b) [CHORUS.] *Thrust^b home the harpoon, spread wide the rope, make common cause (snsn) with Horus who shooteth amain.^c*

Lo, thou art a Nubian in Khent-henf,^d (yet) thou dwellest in a temple, for Rēc hath given thee his kingship with the intent to [69, 10] overthrow the Hippopotamus.

(c) [ISIS?] *The cry of the Hippopotamus fallen in thy rope! Alack, alack in Kenmet!²⁶ The boat is light and he who is in it is a child, (yet) yon Caitiff who is in thy rope (is fallen).²⁷*

(d) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

(e) [HORUS.] *The sixth harpoon is stuck fast in [70, 1] his ribs, it hath sundered his vertebrae.*

(f) [READER OR CHORUS?] *I wash my mouth, I chew natron,^e that I may extol the might of Horus son of Isis, the goodly stripling who came forth from Isis, son of Osiris, the lovable one.*

Horus hath flung (his missile) with his hand, he whose arm was strong from the first,^f when he established the sky upon its four supports. Successful are the deeds which he hath done.

^a Restoring [𓂏]; cf. *E.* XIII, pl. D II = *E.* VI, 71, 5.

^b Cf. *Wb.* v, 595, 11. 12. But should we emend [𓂏] 𓂏 *bi* and translate 'seize the harpoon'?

^c This and the next sentence seem to be addressed to Horus of Behdet as distinct from the young Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, mentioned in the following paragraph; see *JEA* xxviii, p. 33.

^d = *Hnt-hn-nfr*; see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, iv, 183 f.; Steindorff, *Griffith Studies*, 366 f. The name is mis-spelt again in *E.* vi, 196, 12, as 𓂏𓂏𓂏. What is said about the kingship of Rēc indicates that the person addressed is Horus, the god of Edfu (see Junker, *Onurislegende*, 16). He is probably designated a Nubian (*Nhsy*) because the temple in which he is said to dwell is situated in what was at one time practically Nubian territory. Likely enough, when the archetype of this text was composed, the tradition was still current that Edfu was originally Egypt's southern frontier-town (Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 151). For a long time after its foundation the townsfolk of Edfu, no less than the people to the south of it, may well have been regarded as Nubians (*Nhsyw*). Similarly to-day Aswān, in respect of its inhabitants, is much more a Nubian than an Egyptian town. See also Fairman's remark, *JEA* xxi, 29, n. 7. In *E.* vi, 86, 11, it is Seth who is called *p-Nhsy* 'the Nubian'.

^e I.e. the singer had to purify his mouth before he could chant or recite the praises of Horus. So, also, the two wailing women (*ḏrtj*), who impersonated Isis and Nephthys and bemoaned Osiris in the mysteries, had to wash their mouths and chew natron that both they and their lamentations with which they 'beatified' the dead god might be pure (Junker, *Stundenwachen*, § 70 f.). Similarly the priests, before entering upon their monthly course of service, had to 'drink' natron for a specified number of days (Pleyte-Rossi, *P. Turin*, pl. 57, 9 ff.) or 'chew' (*wšr*) it (Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 11, 2), while magicians washed their mouths and swallowed natron in order that their spoken spells and manual acts might possess their full potency (Drioton, *Ann. Serv.* xxxix, 70 f.). The purificatory rites undergone by the King in the 'House of the Morning', and by the statues of divinities, kings, and private persons, and by mummies, during the performance of the Opening the Mouth and of the temple and funerary liturgies, likewise comprised the actual or simulated cleansing of the mouth with natron (Blackman, Hastings, *ERE.* x, 478¹ ff.; Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, 11, pp. 5 ff.; *Liturgy of the Funerary Offerings*, pp. 56 ff.; *Pyr.* § 26 ff.; Moret, *Rituel du culte divin journalier*, p. 202; Blackman, *JMEOS* 1918-19, pp. 28 ff. and 50 ff.; see also *Pyr.* § 1367e-68a).

^f Lit., perhaps, 'he whose arm began existence in strength, when he established, &c.' *šr* without infinitive or other object is rare according to *Wb.* iv, 407, but for two more exx. see *E.* vi, 70, 9, and Gunn, *Synt.* 57, (89). For Horus as constructor of the firmament see *E.* vi, 63, 6, and p. 3, n. b. In both texts occur the words 'successful are the deeds which he hath done'.

Lo, Busiris, Mendes, Heliopolis, Letopolis, Pe, Dep, Memphis, Hermopolis, Hbnw,^a the Oryx Nome, the Nome of Dwn-ꜥnwꜣ, H-nēsu,^b Heracleopolis, Abydos, Panopolis, Coptus, Asyūt, Behdet, Mesen and Denderah are in joy, making jubilation when they see this beauteous and [70, 5] enduring memorial which Horus son of Isis hath made. He hath built the Throne (P), adorned with gold, overlaid and finished with electrum. Its sanctuary is beautiful and noble, like unto the seat of the Master of the Universe. His Majesty dwelleth in Hꜥ-nfr,^c the Coasts of Horus adoring him, on the estate (?) of his father Osiris. He hath taken the office of his father, winning him triumph and avenging him.

He (Seth) thought to oppress him,^d but he (Horus) attacked him.

How pleasant is the father's office to his son who hath vindicated him. He giveth thanks for it (?).

(g) [ISIS.] *Thou who didst act under my guidance,^e thou hast dealt with the malady^f (?). Thou hast oppressed him who oppressed thee. My son Horus hath grown up in his strength, and was from the first ordained to avenge his father.^g*

(h) [READER OR CHORUS.] *The sky was cleared^h for him by the north wind, and [70, 10] the Two Lands were strewn with Upper-Egyptian emeralds,ⁱ because Horus had builded^j his war-galley in order to go therein to the fen to overthrow the enemies of his father [71, 1] Osiris, to seize for him the disaffected.*

(i) [HORUS.] *I am Horus, son of Osiris, who smote the foes and overthrew his enemies.*

(j) [ISIS.] *How pleasant it is to walk along the shore unhindered,²⁸ to pass through the water without the sand swelling up^k (?) under thy feet, and no thorn pricketh them,^l and the crocodiles are not uncovered, thy grandeur having been seen and thy shaft planted in him,^m my son Horus.*

(k) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

^a Capital of the sixteenth Upper-Egyptian nome (the Oryx nome), the modern Zāwīet el-Amwāt; see Sethe, op. cit., § 61; Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 25. *mꜥ* at the beginning of the sentence is evidently a mistake for *mꜥn*.

^b *Dwn-ꜥnwꜣ* is the name of the eighteenth Upper-Egyptian nome, see Sethe, op. cit., § 62. *H-nēsu* was the capital of this nome and is probably to be identified with El-Kōm el-Aḥmar Sawāris, south of Shārūnah; see Kees, *ZÄS* LVIII, 98 f., and Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 86.

^c *Hꜥ-nfr* is, according to Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 150, a name for Memphis. This passage reflects, perhaps, the Memphite origin and connexions of the play (see *JEA* XXVIII, 36).

^d *Dꜣrf* is infinitive + suffix after *hmt-nꜥ*; cf. *Sinuhe*, R 163.

^e If these words are rightly assigned to Isis, *ꜥ* is a mistake for *ꜥ*.

^f Cf., perhaps, the not infrequent expression occurring in the medical papyri, *mr ỉryꜥ* 'a malady which I will treat', e.g., Breasted, *Edwin Smith Surgical Pap.*, pp. 95 ff.

^g Lit., 'and began existence in order to avenge his father'; cf. *E.* VI, 70, 2.

^h We take *wꜥ* to be passive *sdmꜥ*.

ⁱ Actually green felspar; see Lucas, *Anc. Eg. Materials and Industries*, ed. 1934, pp. 39 ff. Cf. also *E.* I, 139, 13.

^j Clearly a writing of *mꜥh*, for which verb see *Wb.* II, 190, 7.

^k *Wb.* IV does not record this word. Is it a reduplicated form of *šꜥ*, meaning 'swell up', or is it to be identified with the obscure word *ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ* 'spread', 'burrow' (?), Crum, *Copt. Dict.*, v, 612¹.

^l *ꜥ* = *sw*, the dual *rdwꜣ* being here treated as a masc. sing.; see Blackman and Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 425, n. 166; Sethe, *ZÄS* LIV, 15; *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1934, XIII, 13. For other exx. of this use see *E.* I, 374, 3; IV, 303, 8-9; VII, 265, 16; VIII, 142, 3-4; *D.* II, 181, 1-2. For *ts* 'prick' see also *E.* VI, 178, 10; Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, pl. IV, Theb. T. 90k. and also, perhaps, *E.* v, 85, 14. As Gardiner has pointed out to us the word was originally *dbꜥ* (hence *ꜥꜥꜥꜥ* not *ꜥꜥꜥꜥ* in Bohairic), see his *Chester Beatty Papyri*, p. 17, n. 3.

^m 'Him' must be Seth. *Mꜥ* and *smn* we regard as passive *sdmꜥ* forms, both preceded by *ꜥ* = *iw*.

SCENE IV

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. v; *E.* vi, 72-6; XIII, pls. DIII-DIV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Two boats, the first containing Horus, lord of Mesen, and the second Horus of Behdet. Horus of Mesen appears to be driving his harpoon into the testicles of a hippopotamus, which is lying on its back, while Horus of Behdet pierces the hind quarters of his victim. An attendant demon in either boat armed as usual; both apparently lion-headed. Facing the two boats is the King, his arms raised in adoration. The action of this scene seems to have been interrupted by an interlude, not depicted in the relief, representing the slaying of the *Sȝbt*-snakes in Letopolis.^a

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus, lord of Mesen } Horus of Behdet }	Horus
	Two Demons	—
	—	Isis
	The King	—
	—	Reader
	—	Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus, lord of Mesen: [75, 5] *Utterance by Horus, lord of Mesen, great god, lord of the sky, lion pre-eminent in Theb, falcon of great strength, lord of Upper and Lower Egypt, guardian who guardeth Egypt (Kmt) from the desert countries (dšrwt), wall of copper round about his Upper-Egyptian Mesen, watcher over his Lower-Egyptian Mesen.*^b

A, 2. In front of Horus, lord of Mesen: [75, 1] *The seventh harpoon is stuck fast in his body and hath spiked (?) his stones.*^c

B. Above the demon in the first boat: [75, 7] *Utterance by His-Speech-is-Fire: I make ruby-red mine eyes and blood-red mine eye-balls.²⁹ I repel them who come with evil intent toward thy seat, I eat their flesh, I swallow their gore, I burn their bones with fire.*

C. The King's address to the seventh harpoon: [75, 2] *The seventh harpoon which cleaves to (lit. 'is upon') his body and hath mangled his limbs and skewered the Hippopotamus from his belly to his stones.*


D, 1. Above Horus of Behdet: [75, 13] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, who driveth back the Caitiff from his temple, who standeth round about it like a wall of copper, whose protection is in its whole circuit.*

D, 2. In front of Horus of Behdet: [75, 10] *The eighth harpoon is stuck fast in his hind quarters, it hath ripped up his haunches.*

E. Above the demon in the second boat: [76, 1] *Utterance by He-cometh-forth-with-*

^a See Commentary, n. 33.

^b For the two Mesens see *E.* vi, 8, 8; 16, 13; 91, 8-9; see also vii, 102, 3.

^c This word (see also *E.* vi, 73, 4) is apparently to be read *gsty* 'testicles'; see *Wb.* v, 208, 1. In the relief illustrating the text Horus is clearly depicted thrusting the 'seventh harpoon' into that portion of the hippopotamus' body, *E.* XIII, pl. DIV. The word is written  in *E.* iv, 255, 15-16. Gardiner's view is that *mhȝ* (*Wb.* II, 130, 1-2) means 'hold, bind, together' as with a skewer, and he suggests the rendering adopted here.

Mouth-Aflame: I quell the assailant of the Balcony of the Falcon,^a I as an ape turn back him who is [hostile] (?) towards it.

F, 1. Above the King: [72, 12] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, (Blank), Son of Rē, Lord of Diadems (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), excellent^b overseer of Behdet (on behalf) of the Holy Winged Orb; who giveth thanks to him who is in his war-galley.*

F, 2. The King's address to the eighth harpoon: [75, 11] *Adoration of the raging sacred harpoon which stirreth up confusion. The eighth harpoon, it hath laid hold on the hindquarters of thy [foe] it hath ripped open his haunches.*

G. In a single horizontal line above the relief: [72, 15] *Praise to thy face, glory to thy might, O Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, strong wall, warlike falcon,^c excelling in strength, greatly feared, who woundeth him that seeketh his hurt,^d a hero of great [strength], . . . protecting his temple, he of the sharp talons,³⁰ . . . guarding Mesen unceasingly and unremittingly. Thy valour and thy might are round about thy temple for the length of eternity.*

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [HORUS.] [73, 4] *The seventh harpoon is stuck fast in his body, it hath spiked his stones.*

(b) [READER.] *Isis uttered a cry,^e speaking to the [73, 5] fatherless^f child battling with Pnēhes.*

(c) [ISIS.] *Be of good courage, Horus my son. Lo, thou hast him fast holden, yon enemy of thy father. Be not wearied (wrd) because of him. [One hand] grappleth with thy harpoon in his hide, two hands grapple with thy rope.³¹ Thy blade, it hath bitten into his bones, I have seen thy blade in his belly, thy horn playing havoc with his bones.³²*

(d) [CHORUS.] *Ye who are in heaven and earth, fear Horus. Ye who are in the abyss, do him reverence. Lo, he hath appeared in glory as a mighty king, he hath taken the throne of his father. The right arm of Horus is as (those of) the young fen-men.*

Eat ye the flesh of the foe, drink ye of his gore,^g swallow^h them up (?), ye who are in the abyss!

(e) AN INTERLUDE. [STAGE-DIRECTION.] LETOPOLIS. THE SLAYING OF S3BT-SNAKES FOR HIS MOTHER ISIS.³³

SCENE IV CONTINUED. (f) [READER.] [74, 1] *Isis came, having found the Hippopotamus*

^a The 'Balcony of the Falcon' is mentioned again, *E.* vi, 6, 7; 93, 11; 263, 1; 297, 16; see also Junker, *WZKM* xxvi, 42 ff.; *Wb.* iv, 29, 13; 302, 7; *E.* vi, 93, 10; 102, 9; 143, 10; 152, 2; 153, 5; 263, 1; vii, 25, 14.

^b For 𓆎 as a writing of (*imy*)-*r* see *Wb.* ii, 94. This *r*, of course = the Coptic $\Lambda\alpha$ -, $\Lambda\epsilon$ -, for which see Spiegelberg, *Kopt. Hdwb.*, 48. 𓆎 probably reads *ikr* or *mnḥ* here rather than *rh*.

^c Apparently *ḏrty* is to be restored here, 𓆎 being the determinative (see Chassinat's n. 6), though one would expect *bṛ*, which would have given us the common epithet *bṛ tkk*.

^d Reading *nkn ḥḥ sṯt:f*?

^e *Sgb* 'cry' is a Late-Egyptian word (see Introduction, *JEA* xxviii, 33) found in *Contendings*, i, 5, 21; *P. Chester Beatty I*, vs. B, 31; *Wenamūn*, 2, 13; and in demotic texts, e.g., *Khamuas I*, 4, 9, 14, 20; 5, 30. It also occurs in the copy of a Late-Egyptian text at Edfu, Myth D; see *E.* vi, 216, 6.

^f Sc. *iwty it:f*; see Chassinat's n. 5.

^g An abbreviated writing of 𓆎 ; see *E.* vi, 66, 2; 68, 12; 72, 1; 75, 8, and p. 7, n. h.

^h According to *Wb.* iv, 129, 13, this verb means 'prattle', 'cry', of an infant. But the context here demands some such rendering as 'swallow', 'chew', 'munch'.

standing with his feet on dry land. She (?) made . . . for (?)^a his war-galley and her son Horus, saying.^b

(g) [ISIS.] *Lo, I am come as the Mother from Chemmis, that I may make an end^{34c} for thee of the Hippopotamus which hath crushed the nest (?)^d. . .*

The boat is light, and he who is in it is but a child, (yet) yon Caitiff who is in thy rope [is fallen].²⁷

(h) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

(i) [HORUS.] *The eighth harpoon is stuck fast in his hind quarters, it hath ripped up his haunches.*

(j) [CHORUS.] *Let thy divine harpoon bite into his face. O Horus, be not (?)^e . . . because of him. Onuris is the protector of thy rending talons (??) . . . [74, 5] of the dss-fish in. . . How many dost thou spike when thy talons take hold, when thy shaft hath been made ready^f in thy hand! Thou cuttest up (?) the flesh in the morning. Thine arrows (?) are (those of) the Master of the Bird-pool(?). Satisfaction^g (?) of thy throat is given thee, so say (?) the young craftsmen. It is Ptah^h who presenteth it (?) to thee.*

Hail Horus, beloved of the fen-men! Lo, thou art a diving hbsⁱ-bird which transfixeth the fish in the water.^j

Lo, thou art an ichneumon, firmly poised upon its claws, which seizeth the prey with its paw.


Lo, thou art a hunter's hound which breaketh through^k (?) the fat of the neck^l in order to [eat] the flesh.



Lo, thou art a stripling^m of sturdy build (?), who slayeth one mightier than himself.

Lo, [74, 10] thou art a fierce lion, ready for the fray upon the river-bank, which standeth astride the carcass.ⁿ




Lo, thou art a flame . . .^o, inspiring fear (?), which rageth on a hillock of brushwood.^p




(k) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

^a Reading *ir-n[s]*. What immediately follows must be corrupt.  can hardly represent the compound preposition *r-ivd r*. What is required here is an object for *ir-n:s*—if that restoration is correct.

^b  = *d(d)s*; see also *E. vi, 117, 1. 2*, and cf.  = *d(d)-in* *E. vi, 113, 2; 129, 8; 134, 3*.

^c Note 34 (in autograph) has had to be held over for Vol. xxx.—Ed.

^d I.e., the dwelling of the young Horus in the papyrus-swamps. We do not understand . The following  is, perhaps, for *iw*, introducing *dpt is-ti*, though, be it noted, in the other two occurrences of this phrase, *E. vi, 69, 11*, and *217, 7*, an introductory *iw* is wanting.  is an abbreviated writing of *nwh*.


^e Perhaps we should read *m* , the sculptor having omitted the determinatives  or , and translate 'be not troubled because of him'? For this verb *nkm* followed by the preposition *n* see *Wb. II, 344, 5*.






^f For a verb *sdf* with this meaning see *Wb. IV, 384, 2*. The seemingly same word just a little further on may be a miswriting of *stf* = *sft* 'cut up'.

^g Apparently so; see *Wb. IV, 15, 23*.


^h See above, p. 10 with n. g.


ⁱ See *E. IV, 199, 6*.

^j Lit., 'which transfixeth the water, (more exactly) the fish', a good instance of substitution-apposition introduced by the *m* of equivalence; see, furthermore, footnote on *E. vi, 85, 8* and the passage *E. I, 15, (12)*, 'Horus of Behdet, who openeth the ball of dung (?) in Naunet,  and bringeth back the light of heaven', lit. 'bringeth back heaven, (more exactly) the light'. An almost identical passage occurs *E. II, 19, (34)*; see also Blackman, *JEA* xxii, 43, (26); Junker, *Onurislegende*, 5 f.

^k We regard  as a miswriting of  or . The next group  looks like a mistake for  'fat'.

^l Cf. N. de G. Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, I, pl. 22, bottom.

^m Emend *sdfy*. ⁿ Lit. 'who has placed the carcass beneath him'. ^o We can suggest no rendering of .

^p Lit. 'which lives on (in?) a mound of *kk*-bush(es)'. For  see above, p. 10, n. b.

SCENE V

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. VI; *E.* VI, 76–8; XIII, pls. DV–DVI.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Two boats. In the first Horus, lord of Mesen, and in the second Horus of Behdet. Both attendant demons, armed as usual, appear to be lion-headed. Horus, lord of Mesen, thrusts his weapon into the hind quarters of a hippopotamus which is standing upright, while Horus of Behdet harpoons the feet of one which lies on its back. The King is in the posture of Scenes I and III.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus, lord of Mesen } Horus of Behdet } Two Demons — The King — —	Horus — Isis — Reader? Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus, lord of Mesen: [77, 13] *Utterance by Horus, lord of Mesen, great god, lord of the sky, who cutteth off the legs of his enemies; a hero of great strength when he sallieth forth to the battle; who runneth apace after his foes.*

A, 2. In front of Horus, lord of Mesen: [77, 11] *The ninth harpoon is stuck fast in his hind legs.*

B. Above the demon in the first boat: [78, 1] *Utterance by Death-in-his-Face-Loud-Screamer: I encompass thy Majesty round about as a wall, a stake^a (?) protecting thy soul on the day of conflict (hrw dmd). I watch over thy temple by day and by night,^b warding off (šnꜥ) the foe from thy shrine.*

C, 1. Above Horus of Behdet: [78, 5] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, who transfixeth the hocks^c of his foe.*

C, 2. In front of Horus of Behdet: [78, 4] *The tenth harpoon is stuck fast in his hocks.*

D. Above the demon in the second boat: [78, 7] *Utterance by Fiery-Face-who-bringeth-in-the-Mutilated(?): I drink^d the blood of him who would overthrow thy sanctuary, I cut in pieces the flesh of him who would violate thy shrine. I give thee the valour and might of my arms and the strength of my Majesty against thine enemies.*

E, 1. Above the King: [76, 5] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, (Blank), Son of Rē, Lord of Diadems, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), Servant-of-the-Falcon of Horus of Behdet, Servant-of-Horus of Harnōfer.^e*

E, 2. In front of the King: [76, 4] *Adoration of the sacred harpoon.*

F. In a horizontal line above the relief: [76, 8] *Glory be to [thy] spirit, thou spearsman*

^a *Wb.* IV, 467, 11, takes $\overline{\text{A}}$ together with *inb*, which seems unlikely. Gardiner suggests that we have here a writing of the Coptic $\overline{\text{A}}$ (see *Wb.* IV, 467, 2) or of a related masculine form and translates as above. Can $\overline{\text{A}}$ mean 'palisade'?

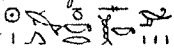

^b For *m dtf ht f* see *Wb.* V, 506, 10.



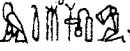
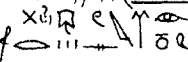













^c A corrupt writing of *insty*; cf. *E.* VI, 78, 4. The passage in Griffith, *Siut*, I, 314, clearly shows that *inst* means 'hock' and *mnt* 'hind leg'.

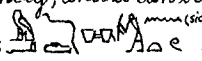
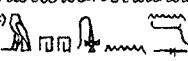


^d For other instances of *shb* 'drink', 'swallow', with *snf* or *t(w)r* (see p. 7, n. h) as object see *E.* I, 310, 2; II, 75, 6; IV, 286, 3; V, 53, 11; VII, 164, 9; 323, 6; *D.* IV, 119, 3. For the spelling with *h* see *Wb.* IV, 268.

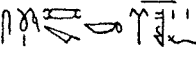

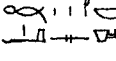

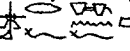
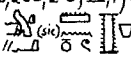
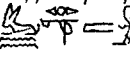
^e *Hm-gmhsu*, 'Servant of the Falcon', is a title of the priest of the live hawk venerated in Edfu temple, in whose honour an annual festival was celebrated, *E.* VI, 103, 1–5; see also *E.* II, 34, 15–16; III, 64, 11; 175, 17; VI, 262, 14; VII, 208, 13–14; 271, 15–16; VIII, 83, 4; *D.* III, 175, 17. The priest in question impersonated Shu, *E.* VI, 103, 1. For the title *hm-Hr n Hr-nfr* see *E.* II, 34, 16. For other exx. of *hm-Hr* see *E.* V, 40, 3; VI, 91, 2; 93, 14; 245, 15.




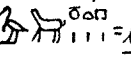

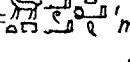
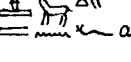

COMMENTARY

1. For other examples of *bsi r sky* see E. III, 4, 1; 28, 10 (*bsi r sky m-hnt 'hst*); IV, 2, 12, 7; VI, 6, 1, 2; VII, 13-14; VIII, 202, 8; cf. also the phrases 'I protect thee anew'  on the day thou salliest forth to battle', E. IV, 23, 3, and 'I give thee strength to slay thine enemies'  on the day thou salliest forth to battle', E. VIII, 293, 6.

2. This is how we venture, as against *Wb.* V, 556, D. II, to render *db' Dns m ir(t) n f hr it f*, taking the literal translation to be 'who punished *Dns* as something which he did on his father's account. Other exx. are E. III, 28, 16; IV, 375, 5. Our translation finds strong support in a variant version of the phrase in M. 86, 7:   [9], which again literally can only mean, 'who slew *Dns* as something which he did on his father's account'. In *db' Dns* ', E. I, 378, 16-17, the construction is different and we were at one time inclined to see here an instance of substitution-apposition introduced by *m* and to translate 'who punished *Dns*, or rather his crime', i.e., 'who punished *D*'s crime', or 'who punished *D* for his crime'. The same construction also occurs in E. IV, 78, 4 (*db' Mds m tmsw f*) and in E. I, 309, 9 (*db' B m ir(t) n f nb*). The only possible translation, however, of              



3. The fundamental meaning of *mdd* seems to be 'press hard, violently', and it can be used with or without an object (see below). Faulkner, *JE* XXX, 169, rightly, we think, renders    

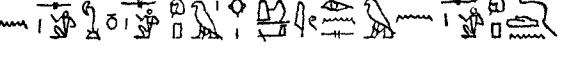
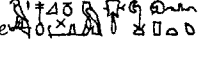
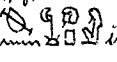
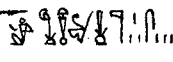

E.I, 381, 13; III, 127, 14; 257, 1; IV, 59, 4; 173, 6; VI, 60, 7; VII, 14, 4, 5. (3) Without object in the epithet *stt* *r mdd*, 'who casteth amain', sometimes followed by *r s'rk* 'in order to annihilate', E.VI, 239, 4; VII, 149, 7; 157, 3; M, 160, 12. For other examples of these three usages see *Wb.* II, 191 f. with *Belegstellen*, p. 278. Here are some other uses of *mdd* which occur in the Edfu texts, but are not recorded in *Wb.* The meaning in each case is clearly an extension of the basic meaning 'press hard'. (a)  'I plant thy knife in his bones, I batter his head for thee with my full strength', E.II, 74, 7. We know of no other instance of  as determ. of *mdd*; it is possibly a printer's error. (b)  'all its cubits attain (lit. are pressed to) perfection', E.IV, 4, 7. (c)  'the sight of it (the great gateway) amounts to (lit. is pressed towards) a marvel', E.VI, 6, 8. (d) 'The form who protects his children.  Who indeed amounteth unto him (i.e. 'resembleth him') in the (other) cities?' E.III, 200, 2-3; IV, 170, 5-6. (e) 'The great girdle-wall protecting the *srh* of Him-with-the-Mottled-Plumage.  What fortress amounteth unto (i.e. 'resembleth') it in the (other) cities?' E.VI, 16, 2. One expects *r-f* here, not *n-f*, as the suffix *f* refers to the girdle-wall of Edfu temple and not to the god. The *n* is possibly a sculptor's error. (f)  'Min is the Ranger of the eastern desert, seeking his eye in God's Land', E.II, 35, 6.



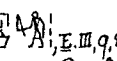
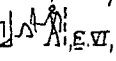
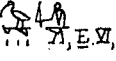
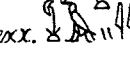
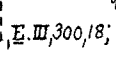
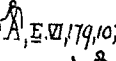




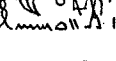
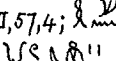
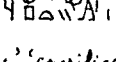
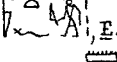
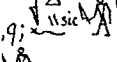
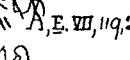
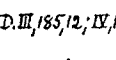
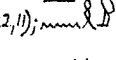
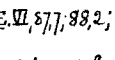
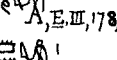
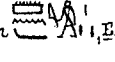
, which is undoubtedly to be read here, is probably a writing of *m-hnt* (Junker, *Gramm.*, p. 157) rather than of *m-hnw* (*op. cit.*, p. 153), the  favouring the former and not the latter reading. For  = *hn* see *op. cit.*, p. 23; see also  = *hynwt*, E.VIII, 95, 10, and  = *hnt*, E.VI, 4, 2. The scribes seem sometimes to have become confused in their writing of these two prepositions. Thus in *h r ntr* =  'more blissful than the gods in the arms of his mother', E.III, 35, 3 (cf. E.III, 213, 16) we clearly have *m-hnw*, whereas in 'This god is to be brought out in procession  and is to rest in it (i.e. in a building previously mentioned) E.VI, 35, 2, we surely have *m-hnt*, the writing of which closely resembles the  of our text.










5. This obscure epithet is again applied to the king in E.VIII, 131, 16; M, 160, 12. In the second instance it has been wrongly inserted after *ssp* in the epithet *s n ssp mnt*, which it should precede. As epithet of Horus it occurs E.VI, 64, 8; 215, 7. Some of the exx., Gunn has remarked to us, suggest that *s h' tpy* means 'a man of the First Thousand', a member of an aristocratic body (cf. the Four Hundred in New York!), but the fact that the king is designated *h' tpy* in E.II, 45, 4, seems to render this interpretation impossible. Let us now consider the possibility of *h'* meaning 'lotus-leaf' (*Wb.* III, 219, 1) in this combination. Then *s h' tpy* 'the Man of the First Lotus-leaf' might denote the first created being of the primordial age, the expression containing a reference to the lotus out of which the sun-god emerged in the beginning of time. This suggestion, which we put forward very tentatively.


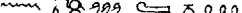
a). Cf. *mdd wst*, *mdd mtn*, *Wb.* II, 192, 4, 5, and the use of *hwn* in similar contexts cited by Blackman, *JEA* XXII, 33, (13).


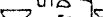

b). So Brugsch, *ZÄS* IX, 142. Chassinat reads  instead of  without adding (sic).


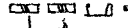
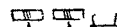
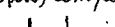
ly, finds some support in the passage in *Myth. D. E. VII*, 215, 5-8, to which we have alluded above. The passage reads: 'So he came, even Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of the Two Lands, who protecteth the weak from the strong, his followers being with him, to wit his harpooners; his ships, his floats, his implements, his rope, his harpoon, his weapons of war, the gear, having been assigned  to the Man of the Lotus-leaf, to the First Man, even Battling Horus, for Horus had turned himself into the First Man. And Re' said: This is the counterpart of Re', my heir Shu, whom Ptah created'. These words seem definitely to equate the Man of the Fl and the First Man with Shu, the first ^{by the sun-god} being to be created according to the Heliopolitan theology. In practically all the passages cited or to be cited, shy seems to denote a person of warlike character, a character, however, it is to be remembered which suits Shu = Onuris, for Onuris is emphatically a warrior-god (see Junker, *op. cit.*, 1 and *passim*). Now if the Man of the Lotus-leaf is Shu, it looks as if the leaf in question may have had some connection with the engendering of him. Did one version, now lost to us, of the crude Heliopolitan Creation-story relate that the sun-god brought Shu into existence while squatting on a lotus-leaf, which floated on the primordial waters beside the flower from which he had recently issued? An objection to this solution of the problem seems, however, to be found in the passage  'Good god, valiant in casting (his harpoon), shy, who does not miss his mark', *E. II*, 45, 4, where the king himself is apparently designated First Fl. But this objection is removed if shy can be regarded as a risbe-form, in which case shy thy would be analogous to shuty thy, the risbe-form of shut tht, and would mean 'He of the First Lotus-leaf', i.e., Shu = in this context Onuris. Similarly  in *E. I*, 113, 4, an epithet of the king, would have to be rendered, 'heir of Him of the First Lotus-leaf', namely heir of Shu. In *E. III*, 301, 11-12, 'the excellent emanations (shur) of exalted station in Behdet, the predecessors of the children of Re', are designated . Are these words to be rendered 'the Men of the First Lotus-leaf among their brethren', meaning that, like the shuty thy, they were the first divine beings to exist? It ought here to be noted that a god  is recorded, *D. II*, 188, 7.


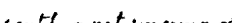

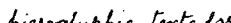
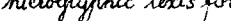
6. Our study of the Edfu texts has so far shown that  var.  is employed as determinative in the following words: (a) shyur 'mucderous' messengers'; exx.  *E. III*, 9, 8; 33, 14;  *E. VI*, 14, 9;  *E. VII*, 17, 1. (b) shutyur 'executioners'; exx.  *E. III*, 300, 18;  *E. VII*, 179, 10;  (with slight variations in the shape of ) *E. III*, 293, 5; 303, 13; 322, 11 (with  for ) 322, 12; *III*, 14, 6 (determ. ). (c) shutyur 'slayers'; exx.  *E. VII*, 57, 4;  *E. IV*, 264, 2-3. (d) shutyur 'avenging' angels' (see Gardiner, *P. Chester Beatty No. 1*, p. 25, n. 3); exx.  *E. VII*, 265, 14, 16. (e) shut 'crew', 'company'; exx.  *E. III*, 9, 9;  *E. VII*, 18, 9. (f) shutyur 'butcher', 'sacrificer'; exx.  *E. VII*, 119, 2 (cf. *D. III*, 185, 12; *IV*, 11, 4; 22, 11);  *E. VII*, 87, 88, 2;  *E. III*, 178, 11, 15;  *E. III*, 127, 15; *IV*, 84, 11;  *E. IV*, 240, 17. We can cite only one example of the plural form  *E. III*, 32, 18. In *E. VII*, 119, 2, and *IV*, 240, 17, shutyur is the name of a demi-god or demon, designated in the former instance 'Great M., pre-eminent in Throne of Re'.

(*Isbt n Rē*'), in the latter, 'M. who resideth in Throne-City (*Bhdt*) of *Rē*'.' We so far know of six occurrences of  as an ideogram. 1. The example in our text which led to this discussion, 2.        




























for in a relief on the south wall of that chamber the king, who is depicted dedicating three boxes of books to Horus, is represented as saying  'I bring to you (=Horus and his Ennead) casket's containing excellent mysteries (cf. E. IV, 299, 12-13), to wit the choicest of the Emanations of Rē', the term in question being followed by the titles of various works, E. III, 351, 6-7. A reference to such books occurs apparently in E. VII, 22, 6, where mention is made of 'these names of the Great Seat of Rē'  which are in accord with the Emanations of Rē' belonging to the temples'.

Thoth, as the god of learning, is naturally associated with the h3w R' and therefore bears such titles as  'lord of the hdn-plant, lord of the Emanations of R^c' (E.VI, 278, 1-2; see also E.V, 9, 2). It is to be observed that the king as 'Superintendent of the prophets of Thoth' is  'Servant of the Emanations of R^c' (E.III, 35, 6). Finally S3:t, as goddess of books and writing, is designated  'pre-eminent in the House of Book(s), mistress of the Emanations of R^c' Sfht-bwj, pre-eminent in the House of Amulets, mistress of mysterious writings, who directs ordinances', E.IV, 299, 12-13.

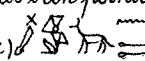



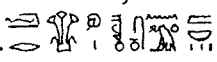




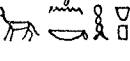
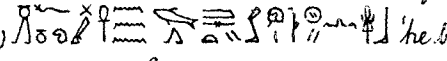


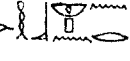






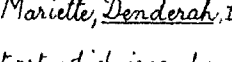

8. Šḫt 'divide correctly'; here used of time, is frequently employed in respect of division of land, e.g., Šḫt T3-
fwn, E III, 190, 6; 251, 16; IV, 91, 2; 389, 17-18; V, 91, 2; Šḫt T3-mr, M. 89, 18; Šḫt iht m ht-mn, M. 77, 1. It is said of the En
nead of Re, E IV, 309, 16, 'ye are the gods, the lords of this land,  who correctly divide (i.e.,
measure) the Nile by hand-breadths?', and of Akhons, E IV, 246, 12-13,  'thou correct-
ly dividest the land by thy brightness'. The king is described as he  'who correctly
divides the Wd3t-eye (see ZÄS XLVIII, 101 ff.) into its component parts', E IV, 265, 1, and when 'stretching the
cord' in the foundation-laying ceremony, as  he who correctly divides (with the msh, see
Borchardt, Die altägyptische Zeitmessung, 54 f.) the movement(s) of the stars (i.e., plots out their movements in re-
lation to the meridian)', E VII, 44, 13-14. The beer-goddess Mnkt is likewise said to 'divide correctly' the beer-
jugs (nbty), D II, 216, 11, and E I 462, 15, i.e., in order to make sure that they will hold the right quantities.

9. ¹ is an adverbial expression probably to be read nrt (see below, §2) and meaning 'yearly', 'year by year'. Nrt is apparently a not uncommon word in Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts for 'year', 'period' (see E.V, 195, n. 4; Brugsch, ZÄS IX, 59), of which we have noted the following examples. (a)  'at the end of 25 years', E.IV, 7, 10. (b)  'thy years, there is no count of them', E.VI, 282, 5-6. (c)  'the fourth forth for thee the inundation water,  'abundant at its season, without missing its appointed time in any years, doing thy pleasure, and no famine accompanieth it (the inundation water)', E.IV, 195, 15. (d)  'his periods are millions, his years


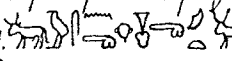
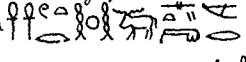
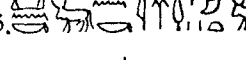
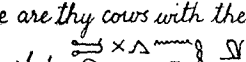
a) For this value of n as a word-sign and phonogram see Wb. II, 277 ff. b) With the construction $n(n)$ th n
dmdt. cf. $n(n)$ d'r n hsw-sn, D. I, 47, 15, qu. below n. 10, § 5.

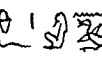

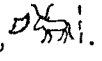


These two observations, however, do not by any means represent a fixed rule, for on the one hand in Mariette, Denderah, IV, pl. 30,  and  seem to be employed indifferently as writings of nrpt (see also the exx. under § 2, [E], and § 3, [E], below), and on the other hand the vulture without ^o or ^o occasionally seems to be a writing of nrt, e.g.,                         



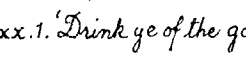
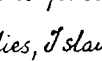
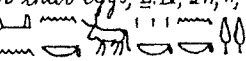
We will now enumerate certain adverbial phrases occurring in the Edfu and Denderah texts which contain the words nrt and nrpt and which illustrate at the same time what has been said about the uses of the sign . 1. nrpt 'yearly', 'every year'. Exx. (a) 'he (the Nile) cometh unto thee every year', E.I, 468, 6; see also 178, 3; 477, 12. (b) 'he cometh again unto thee every year', E.I, 581, 12; see also II, 79, 10; 261, 7. (c) 'He (the king) bringeth thee the fresh water....', coming at its appointed season, renewing itself yearly', E.VI, 205, 10-12. 2. nrt 'yearly', 'every year'. Exx. (a) 'He (the king) bringeth thee the eight canals of Egypt by which the Nile flows out to the sea....', in order to come back again every year', E.VI, 194, 13-195, 2. (b)

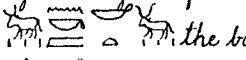
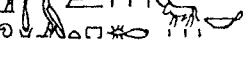
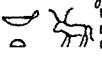
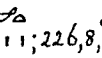

its harvest to flourish for thee every year', E. VI, 37, 1-2, with n. 2. These are clear instances of n rrt. Those following might possibly, in the light of what has been pointed out above, be read n r npt, but, with one exception, seem more likely to be writings of n rrt. (c)  'he returneth unto thee every year', D. I, 56, 2-3; see also IV, 188, 7 (); E. IV, 193, 15 (). The last example, , is an unusual writing and, since it also lacks a determinative, should perhaps be read n r npt. (d) 'The kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Great Powers,....  who come out at their appointed season yearly, at the happy festivals of their Majesties', D. IV, 143, 5; see also III, 46, 1 (). (e) 'Sokar-*Osiris*  =  who becometh young again every year as a living emanation', E. IV, 115, 4. In view of these examples we feel justified in reading the  of our text, E. VI, 61, 7, as n rrt, contrary to *Wb. II*, *Belegstellen*, 430, 9, where it is cited as a writing of n r npt. 3. tp r npt r npt 'year by year'. Exx. (a)  'the Nile cometh unto thee at his season year by year, without ceasing', E. VII, 59, 9; see also III, 46, 5; 170, 5. (b)  'he bringeth unto thee the Life-Renewer (=the inundation), issuing from the *leg* year by year without ceasing', E. III, 148, 13-14; see also 76, 2; 90, 10; IV, 63, 10. (c) '.... in order to array (*db*) thy image (*bs-k*) together with the Ennead of thy *ks*,  'year by year without ceasing', D. IV, 106, 7. Having in mind the numerous parallels with the writing  we are of the opinion that, despite the presence of the determinative, the expression in ex. (c) is to be read tp r npt r npt and not tp rrt rrt. 4. rt rrt 'year after year', 'year by year'. Exx. (a)  (Blank)....  'This festival is celebrated year after year, and the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, N.,..... celebrateth this festival year after year, without cessation or intermission for ever', E. VII, 103, 4-5. (b) 'Her *shmw* are within it every day  year after year without ceasing', D. IV, 232, 1. The writings  in ex. (a) suggest that  in (b), although the expected determinatives are lacking, should be read rt rrt rather than r npt r npt. The compilers of *Wb.*, who do not quote ex. (a), would, however, doubtless read  and  as n r npt. 5. m rrt rrt 'year after year'. Ex.  'he cometh to thee year after year', Mariette, *Denderah*, I, 53a, 7; see also II, 40d. So far we have found no examples in the Edfu inscriptions of m rrt rrt, which is read m r npt r npt by *Wb. II*, 430, 8. On the whole we prefer our reading m rrt rrt while keeping our eyes open for further evidence which may finally settle the question one way or the other. Gardiner gives us an interesting note on the XXth Dynasty phrase *se is* , for exx. of which see *Wb. II*, 279, 13, and *Med. Habu* (ed. Chicago), 138, 47. He believes that we have here a word for a shoal or sandbank or the like, which reappears every year.









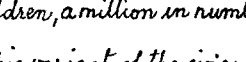
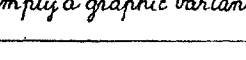


a) See Blackman & Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 416, ff., n. 68.







10.  and variant writings of this group represent frequently in the Edfu texts a word for the females of animals, especially of cattle. Exx. 1.  'Lusty bull, copulating with the cows', E. III, 134, 1. 2.  'He is the living Ram, may he live for ever, the generating ram beloved of the wethers', E. VII, 271, 1-2. 3.  'I give thee yon bull(s) of thine, and for thee are thy cows with their milk', M. 139, 17. 4.  'He brings thee the watered land (called) Htd with its milk (hd) streaming from the udder(s) of its cows', E. IV, 26, 8-9.












5.  'the father of males and females', M. 132, 9. For two more examples see E. IV, 25, 13, ; 337, 6, . The question is how this group is to be read. The sign , which represents a bivalve shell, possesses in ordinary hieroglyphic writing the phonetic value *h*₃; Gard., *Gram.*, p. 468. But this cannot be the value of  in the group we are discussing, for *Wb.* gives no word like *h*₃.t. for 'cow' or 'female'.









































































































































































































































































































































Another group representing a word for females of animals and as common in the Edfu texts as , is  with variant writings. Exx. 1. 'Drink ye of the gore of your foes'  and of their females', E. VI, 77, 8. The 'foes' in question are the confederates of Seth in the form of hippopotami. 2. 'I thrust at the ravening crocodiles, I pierce their bodies, I slaughter their old ones with their young ones',  'I slay their females, I smash their eggs', E. IV, 211, 11-212, 1. 3. 'He bringeth thee *Sh*₃.t-*H*₃.t mistress of cattle, bearing pails of milk',  'She giveth (sc. d₃s) to thee yon bulls of thine and these thy cows by the favour of her Majesty', E. I, 419, 6-7.

4. 'Rejoice, thou hast smitten thy foes',  'the bulls being as cows for thee!', M. 145, 13. 5.  'I give thee the byres with bulls and cows, and there is no lack of their calves', D. I, 47, 15. Other exx. are E. V, 49, 5-6, ; VII, 204, 7, ; 226, 8, .

The word , with variants, is well known, being a Late-Egyptian writing of , *hmt*, 'cow', 'female animal', see *Wb.* III, 76. Owing to the exactly similar employment of , etc. (= *hmt*) and , etc. in the passages cited by us, we conjectured that the latter group is simply a writing of the former,  replacing , and that it also reads *hmt*. Evidence that our conjecture was correct soon came to hand. Written with or without the flesh-determ., , , (see *Wb.* II, loc. cit.), *hmt* also has the meaning 'uterus', 'vulva'. A text in one of the entrances to the east stairway in the temple of Edfu thus speaks of the personified inundation water:  'His member becomes erect, he copulates with his vulva (=the inundated land) and he creates his children, in number more than a million', E. I, 581, 15. In a parallel text in another part of the same temple we read:  'His member becomes erect, he copulates with (his) vulvae, and he creates his children, a million in number', E. III, 102, 2. These two passages clearly shew that the plural  is simply a graphic variant of the singular  and is accordingly to be read *hmwt* 'vulvae'. For other

exx. of *hmt* with this meaning see E. VII, 116, 3-4, 'Engendering Bull, who impregnates maidens, *ts mwr m*  *r shpr swpt* who makes fertile the seed in the womb in order to create the egg'; I, 575, 15, *k3 ts*  'Bull who makes fertile the wombs'; and perhaps also E. IV, 298, 3-4, *b' h' k*     'Thou flood-est the wombs' (wrong determ.) with seed from the bone (i.e., the erect phallus).

How  came to be given the same phonetic value as  is something of a puzzle. Perhaps it was because a pair of such shells was thought to resemble the female genitalia, for which, as we have seen, one of the words in Egyptian is . In conclusion we might enumerate the other uses of the sign  (apart from that discussed in n. 41) which we have so far observed in the course of our examination of the Edfu inscriptions. Owing to its being equated with , which also reads *idr* (Wb. I, 154),  takes the place of that sign in the writing of the word *idrw* 'herds', viz.    E. IV, 32, 12-13, where it is either a phonogram or what Gardiner, *Gram*, 354 and p. 511, under V37, calls a phonetic determinative. It appears also as the determinative of *nrt* 'skin', E. III, 127, 9, where its presence is probably due to the Ptolemaic scribe having confused the bivalve shell with the fish scale . Lastly in  E. III, 298, 14, it retains its old value *h(b)*, if our view that this is a writing of *ihrt nrt* is correct.

11. Two very similar accounts of Horus' attack on the hippopotami occur elsewhere at Edfu. They are 1.                                                           

                                                            

                                                            

                                                            

                                                            

                        

ed by our text, and by the two other descriptions of the hunt here given, to the parts of the harpoon, the various depths of water, and to Horus himself, are fairly in agreement, a fact suggesting that all three accounts, which closely resemble one another in other points as well, have a common basis, namely the local folk-tales which had supplied the material for the play.

	MYTH C = E. IV, 61. CUBITS	MYTH D = E. VI, 216-217. CUBITS	E. IV, 213. CUBITS
Depth of water in which are the cows	8	8	
Depth of water in which is the Lower Egyptian Bull.	20	12	
Length of harpoon-blade	4 ^a	4	4
Length of shaft	16	20	17
Length of rope	60	60	60
Height of Horus	8	8	7
Depth of water beneath Horus	20	20	

As the texts of Myth C are better cut and less corrupt than the text of Myth D, the readings of the former are to be preferred. Accordingly the '12 cubits' (depth of water) and '20 cubits' (length of shaft) of Myth D are probably to be emended '20 cubits' and '16 cubits' respectively. $\Pi\Pi$ is doubtless a sculptor's or scribe's error for $\Pi\Pi$, while the Π^X 11, 17 in E. IV, 213, an easy corruption of Π^X 16, indicates that the latter figure is correct against the 20 of Myth D. Again the Π^X 11, 7 cubits (height of Horus), of E. IV may well be another sculptor's or scribe's blunder for Π^X 11, 8 cubits, the numeral in question being written $\Pi\Pi$ in Myth C and $\Pi\Pi$ in Myth D. Lastly it should be pointed out that the '16 cubits' (length of shaft) and '8 cubits' (height of Horus) of Myth C are more likely to be correct than the '17 cubits' and '7 cubits' of E. IV, 213, because in both the other texts all the measurements are in even numbers.

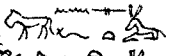
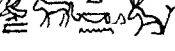



12. The passage E. IV, 213, 7-10, quoted in the preceding note, shews that Π^X 8 is to be restored here; of the Π^X 11 of Myth D. There is clearly room for 1 beside Π . As the text stands 'a stripling of eight cubits' must here be a circumlocution for the 1st pers. singular suffix. But the wording of the above-mentioned text in E. IV, which reads not unlike a quotation from a dramatic text, tempts us to emend Π^X 8 to Π^X 8 and translate '(a harpoon-blade of four cubits....) being in (my) hand(s), a stripling (1) of eight cubits'.














13. The use of Π as 1st pers. sing. suffix in E. VI, 65, 5, and the words 'I rage against thy foes as a savage baboon', suggest that the demon in the first boat, and perhaps in the second boat also, was baboon-headed.

14. For this abnormal writing of Π^X 8 (=the eastern desert) with Π^X instead of Π^X or Π^X , see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, VI, 100. Π^X 8, according to *Wb.* IV, 504 (see also E. VI, 78, 2-3; 121, 1; 123, 8), means 'scare away', 'drive away, from' a place,

a) See also E. III, 255, 15, 'a harpooner of great strength, grasping Π^X 4 a harpoon (sic) of 4 cubits'.

b) Π^X 8 is a not uncommon spelling at Edfu; see, e.g., E. I, 36, 14; 38, 7; VII, 184, 10; 193, 11.











but here the context demands that *h* be rendered 'into', as it does in E. III, 188, 14, *m3i ur-phity*  'a lion of great strength who drives Seth into the deserts'; see also E. VI, 287, 2, and cf.  'he is a lion who maketh Seth withdraw unto the Asiatics, E. VI, 16, 13. Though *Wb.* gives no exx. of a transitive use of *tkr*, such a use is not impossible in view of Junker, *Gramm.*, pp. 92ff. For the divine decree banishing Seth from Egypt into the eastern desert see *Lrk.* VII, 25, 14; 27, 1-9, and note especially the words 'Thou holdest sway in the desert' () *Onbd*, but thou shalt not dwell in Timuris.' *op. cit.*, 27, 5-6. Cf. too 'King M is a lion of great strength,  banishing his foes into the desert, as Re himself and the gods ordained with one consent, E. VII, 184, 10; see also E. III, 188, 16, according to which Horus is  'he who casts the Red One (Seth) into a foreign land'.




15. The meanings of the verb *dbdb* (see *Wb.* V, 44, 2), as employed at Edfu, seem, according to our present knowledge to be as follows:— 1. 'Cut up' flesh (*wf*, *h'w*) or a body (*dt*). Exx. (a) 'I transfix the Hippopotamus (*ns*)  in order to cut up its flesh, so that it is given as meat-portion to every god, E. VI, 138, 7-8; see also VI, 86, 1-2; VII, 168, 15. (b) 'I have captured (*in-ni*) the Hippopotamus (*ns*)  I have cut up his flesh (*h'w*), I have set his meat-portion before thee, E. IV, 343, 6-7. (c)  (Horus) who cuts up the body of *Tbh* (Seth), E. IV, 60, 11-12. 2. 'Cut in pieces', 'slash', 'slaughter', a single enemy (esp. a Sethian animal) or a group of enemies. Exx. (a)  'who cutteth in pieces the Hippopotamus in Retribution-Town, E. III, 28, 10. (b) Retribution-Town of Him who exacted Retribution,  where the *dn-dn*-serpent was cut in pieces, E. VII, 117. (c) 'The Hippopotamus (*db*) is subdued  the Monster cut in pieces, M. 160, 9. (d) 'It is the single-barbed harpoon for piercing the crocodiles, the weapon of thy choice (*db*; *n k3-k*)  which slasheth the Hippopotamus, E. VII, 238, 10-11. (e) 'The *Mntyw* are slain (*mds*),  the *Tjehnuw* are cut to pieces, E. IV, 341, 2-3; see also 236, 12; 266, 2. (f)  'who cuts the foes to pieces, E. II, 65, 12; see also VIII, 143, 5. (g)  'thy knife to stick into, to cut to pieces, the hippopotami, E. VI, 239, 1. 3. 'Rend in pieces'. Ex. The lion *M3i-ur-phity* 'who roareth after the Cut-throat (*mds*),  who rendeth in pieces the carcass of *Tbh*, E. IV, 285, 12-13. 4. 'Crunch' flesh (*wf*). Exx. (a)  'I crunch his flesh, I swallow his gore, E. VI, 66, 1-2, the passage which occasioned this discussion. (b)  I drink the blood of him who would overthrow thy sanctuary, I crunch the flesh of him who would violate thy shrine, E. VII, 78, 7-8. Though 'rend in pieces' is not ruled out as the meaning of *dbdb* in these two sentences, nevertheless,


a) For this use of the Old Perfective see Gardiner, *Gram.*, Supplement, 10, n. on § 315; Blackman, *JEA* **XXI**, 36.

b) Cf. the English 'cut to pieces', used of the routing of an armed force with heavy casualties.

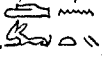








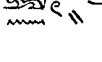
c) Cf. E. IV, 24, 12, 'Horus of Behdet  who cutteth the Monster in pieces'.


















since *dbdb* has the determinative  in ex. (b) and in both exx. is in parallelism with a verb meaning 'swallow', 'drink' (*s'm, shb*), we feel that 'crunch', 'bite small', 'mince', are more likely renderings of the word. On the other hand *dbdb* might possibly in either context mean just 'eat', despite the Δ -determinative in (a), and in this case would be a late variant of the old *ndbdt* 'eat', 'nibble', for which see *Wb.* V, 442, 16, and II, 368, 12, with *Belegstellen*. We do not find ourselves in agreement with *Wb.*'s rendering of *dbdb* *wf* (*h'w*) *hr msh*, namely, 'stechen in (*hr*) die Haut'. Our view is that the expression describes the slaughterer cutting up for distribution the victim's flayed carcass, as it lay on its hide which was spread out on the ground. Exx. (a) The Hippopotamus (*nš*) is in the place of slaughter (*nmt*), the Deserving-of-Destruction is destroyed (*h'm h'm ti*),    'I cut up his flesh upon his hide', E. VIII, 149, 3-4; see also IV, 111, 3. (b) 'I (Horus) give thee thine enemies slaughtered in the slaughter-house,    'I cut up their flesh upon their hide(s)', E. IV, 351, 6. (c)    'hacking at his (the Hippopotamus)' flesh so that it is cut to pieces upon his hide', E. I, 381, 15-16.







16. The poet is evidently comparing the shower of Horus' weapons with the moon beams pouring down from the sky on a peaceful night. For two other instances of *ttf* employed in this sense see E. III, 235, 15; VII, 83, 8. Cf. also the transitive use of *ttf* in    'I make thy weapons to rain down in the midst of the water', E. IV, 59, 10.

17. The sign  in Ptolemaic texts has the values *Wnty* and *Dwnty*. *Wb.* V, 433, appears only to admit the latter reading, but cf. *Wb.* I, 325, 13. Instances showing the full spelling of the word are rare, and usually the ideogram alone is employed. The sign differs considerably in the various instances and generally there are no criteria to establish which reading is to be adopted. When the ideogram alone is used it has the three following forms: 1. Horus on a bull (E. I, 302, 15; III, 278, 8; IV, 58, 4; 59, 8; V, 118, 14; 186, 16; VI, 64, 6; 142, 1. 14; VII, 111, 4; 152, 3; 310, 11). 2. Horus on a crocodile (E. III, 88, 13; IV, 213, 3; 374, 14). 3. A man on a bull (E. VI, 117, 3; Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, 73, 22; 61 = Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 920). *Wb.* records none but form 3, which, so far as we know, only occurs as an ideogram in the title of a prophet of Horus of *Hbrw* (E. VII, 117, 3) and in a writing of one of the sacred names of that town (Mariette, *op. cit.*, IV, 73), which, as the variant (see Brugsch, *loc. cit.*) shews, is to be read *Hwt-Dwnty*. The title of the prophet is

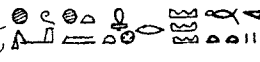
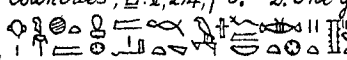
a) This sign was still legible, apparently, when Naville made his copy of these inscriptions; see his *Mythe d'Horus* pl. VII. b) Cf. E. IV, 343, 6-7; VII, 86, 1-2; 138, 7-8. c) Sometimes with, and sometimes without, the double crown. In his right hand he carries a β -sceptre or else a lance (occasionally, so it would seem, a staff) which presses on the head or neck of the animal upon which he is standing. d) In all three instances wearing the double crown and armed with a lance. In E. IV, 213, 3, he wields the lance with both hands. e) Holding a lance or staff like Horus, but wearing no crown. f) Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, IV, 142.

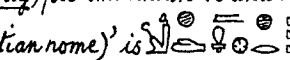
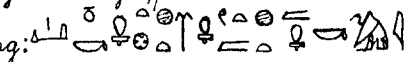
also, therefore, to be read Dwnty, and JEA XX, 31, n. 1, should be emended accordingly. The priest bore this title because he impersonated the god in certain ceremonies (see Blackman, Priest, Priesthood (Egyptian) VI, in Hastings, ERE X, 295f; see also JEA VII, 10ff.). Dwnty, furthermore, must undoubtedly be the reading of the ideogram depicting Horus on a bull when it is followed by such words as hnty Hwt-Dwnty (E. V, 186, 16) or hnty Hb nwr (E. V, 142, 14; VII, 111, 4). At Edfu, so far as we are aware, phonetic writings of the names Dwnty and Wnty occur in all only four times. , with the determinative of a man on a bull, appears in E. I, 185, 9, as an epithet of Osiris-Sepa, and, as we have already pointed out, another example of this sign used as an ideogram, and three examples of that depicting Horus on a bull similarly used, are also thus to be read. The spelling Wnty occurs thrice: , with the determinative of a falcon on the back of an oryx, in E. V, 307, 5 (cf. Berlin photographs of Philae, no. 1275, cited by Junker, Onurislegende, 37); , with the determinative of a man on a crocodile, in E. IV, 374, 4-5; and , with the determinative of Horus on a crocodile, in E. VI, 84, 6. In addition the ideogram of Horus on a bull in E. V, 118, 14, clearly has the value Wnty, in view of the fun contained in the words ntk Wnty    [i], while the fact that the ideogram of Horus on a crocodile is followed by wnfr Wh-sfr-f in E. IV, 213, 3-4 (cf. E. VI, 84, 6), and by wnfr sb n itf in E. IV, 374, 14, suggests that in both cases the sign is to be read Wnty, the Ptolemaic scribes, as has already been pointed out, being very partial to alliteration. We are not conversant with the full evidence from other Ptolemaic temples, but it would seem that at Edfu the reading Wnty is in most cases to be preferred, unless there is clear evidence in favour of Dwnty. It might here be noted that at Denderah the epithet Wnty is assigned to Horus as 'lord of Busiris..... who overthrows the foe of Onnophris', D. II, 157, 13. Wnty is here written  . The Wnty we have been discussing can have no connection with the demon  of P. Bremner-Rhind, 22, 22, for a note on whom see Faulkner, JEA XXIII, 176.

18. Other similar writings of  occur in     E. III, 28, 12; 257, 15;    E. IV, 212, 7; and      E. IV, 59, 9. An example of the full writing is     E. VI, 217, 5.

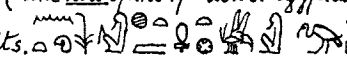
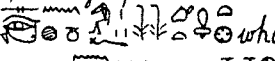
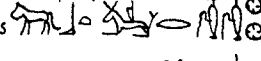
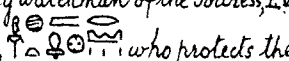
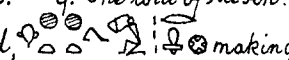
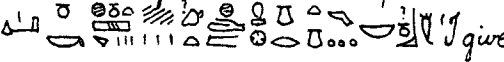
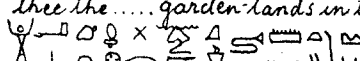
19. Restore  before imyw-mw (cf. snd n-k Nbd in the next line), or perhaps , and then translate 'fear of him is in those who are in the water' (cf. E. VI, 235, 11). The context suggests that 'those who are in the water' are in this case hippopotami; see    in E. IV, 214, 6; also VII, 202, 3; 292, 11. As a rule, however, imyw-mw seems to be a term for crocodiles and generally has the crocodile-determinative; see E. III, 4, 1; IV, 74, 7. 15-16; 211, 10-11; 230, 8; VII, 79, 10; 81, 2; VIII, 32, 9. In E. VI, 229, 5, and D. IV, 24, 8, it means both crocodiles and hippopotami and has the corresponding determinatives. In E. VI, 238, 11, imyw-mw has no determinative and is written ; see also E. III, 4, 3; IV, 212, 6.

20. Htm 'the Fortress' occurs frequently in the Edfu texts as a topographical term, as the following citat-

ions shew. 1. Horus of Mesen is 'the great Lion residing in *Hwt-hwt*,  who protects the Fortress from the northern hill-countries', E. V, 214, 7-8. 2. The god of Edfu is 'the Lion who maketh Seth withdraw unto the Asiatics (qu. n. 14),  protecting the Fortress in the northern region. The god who is within it (the great girdle-wall of Edfu temple) is the lord of the Two Mesens (cf. E. VII, 8, 8; 16, 13; 75, 6; 91, 8-9), the bulwark of Egypt (*Swrt*) in the South and North', E. VII, 16, 13-14.

3. Horus as 'the Great Falcon (*drtj*) pre-eminent in Re and Mesen, the Lion of great strength pre-eminent in Khant-Iebt (the 14th Lower-Egyptian nome)' is  'he who guards the Fortress against the lands of the Phoenicians', E. VII, 102, 2-3. 4. Horus, as 'the Lion of great strength, pre-eminent in Khant-Iebt, who drives Seth into the desert-countries (*dšrw*)', says to the king:  'I give thee the Fortress sealed with thy seal, I protect Egypt (sc. *ḥt*) from Asia (*Stt*)', E. III, 188, 13.



It will be observed that in all these passages Horus appears in the rôle of a fierce lion and as protector of the Fortress' against the Asiatics, and, moreover, that in ex. 3 and 4 he is definitely associated with the fourteenth Lower-Egyptian nome. Since Horus is known to have been worshipped as a lion-god at Sile (*Ṣrw*), a frontier-town of strategical importance as well as the capital of the above-mentioned nome, it is tempting to identify that town with the Fortress', as actually do both Gauthier and Brugsch, the latter maintaining that *Ṣrw* is Tanis.













Other references to *Htm* that we have collected are: 5. 'He (the king) brings to thee (the god of Edfu) the Northern City (= the *sw* of the 17th Lower-Egyptian nome) with its orchard and all its sweet (see W. II, 495, 5) and pleasant fruits.  Thou art the king of the Fortress, sovereign of the desert country', E. V, 24, 8-9. 6. The god of Edfu is 'the Falcon, lord of falcons, in Re of Re',  who preserves these his young ones in the Fortress', E. V, 320, 8. 7. Horus of Mesen is  'he who scares away (*šn*) *Nbd* from the Two Outpourings, the goodly watchman of the Fortress', E. VII, 68, 3. 8. Horus of Behdet is 'the valiant guardian who guards all Egypt (*Swrt*)',  who protects the Fortress from the foreigners (*ḥ'styw*)', E. VII, 54, 6. 9. 'The lord of Mesen.... is victorious in *Hwt-Hr-nht*, turning up his foe, slaughtering the disaffected,  making the enemies to retreat from the Fortress', E. IV, 371, 10. 10. Thoth says to the officiating king:  'I give thee the.... garden-lands in the Fortress bearing all manner of pleasant fruits', E. VII, 170, 3. 11. The king is  of high authority in the Fortress, most majestic among the *Mntyw*', E. I, 559, 2-3. In these last seven passages, it must be confessed, 'the Fortress' might well be one of those terms for Egypt such as *B'kt*, *Swrt*, *Isty*, etc., which are so common in Ptolemaic texts. Thus in ex. 5 'king (*nsw*) of the








a). See Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, 3162; also E. III, 188, 14; 232, 15; VII, 71, 11; 75, 5-6; 127, 8 ff.; VII, 255, 4; D. II, 92, 7-8.









b). See Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, IV, 190.

'Fortress' is contrasted with 'sovereign (*lḥty*) of the desert-country (*dšrt*), as is 'lord of Egypt (*Kmt*)' with 'ruler of desert-countries (*dšrw*)' in E.VII, 168, 8-9, and 'king (*nsw*) of Egypt (*Snwt*)' with 'sovereign, ruler (*hk*) of the desert-countries (*dšrw*)' in E.VII, 165, 12. 'Egypt' (*Kmt*, *Snwt*) is similarly contrasted with 'the desert, desert-countries' (*dšrt*, *dšrw*) in E.VI, 75, 6; VII, 193, 11; and I, 38, 7. In ex. 11 *Htm* is contrasted with *Mntjw*, while in ex. 7 it is in parallelism with *Hbwy*, a well-known designation of Upper and Lower Egypt, as it is also in ex. 8 with *Snwt*. That in exx. 6, 9, 10 and 11 *Htm* = Egypt can hardly be disputed. In the light of this evidence, therefore, Gauthier's and Brugsch's identification of *Htm* 'the Fortress' with *Tjrw* becomes more than doubtful, especially as 'the Fortress' meaning 'Egypt' suits the contexts in exx. 1-4 no less well than it does when equated with *Tjrw*. The occurrence in the exx. cited by us of references to the lion-god of *Tjrw* and to the north-eastern countries and peoples, *dšrt*, *Stt*, *Mntjw*, *h'styw*, *h'swt*, *Fnhw*, is to be explained by the fact that the most vulnerable point in the defences of 'the Fortress' = Egypt was always considered to be the north-eastern frontier, where *Tjrw* (Sile) occupied a key-position. Possibly passages like exx. 1-4 are reminiscent of the Hyksos invasion, or, as is more likely, of the later inroads of the Assyrians and Persians.

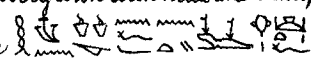
Htm = Egypt finds a close parallel in the use of *ht-mn*, which signifies both 'Egypt' and 'the world', *h's* *t's* replacing it in demotic (see *Wb.* III, 353, 8-9). For *ht-mn* employed exactly like *Htm* in exx. 5 and 10, i.e., meaning Egypt, see E.VII, 170, 8; M, 77, 1; see also E.VI, 277, 6. *Htm* seems to mean rather 'the earth', 'the world', in D.II, 18, 2; 79, 14; E.VI, 9, 2. It should here be noted that *Wb.* III, loc. cit., transcribes  and its variant's *ht-m* (*ht-mn*?), though neither under that entry nor under  (352, 6-10) does it appear to cite such uses of the latter word as occur in our exx., especially in 5-10.


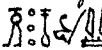
21. Reading        'my horn assaulteth him who cometh against thee in fury', E.VI, 178, 15, where *h'm*, not cited by *Wb.*, seems to be a variant of *h'ht*. For the confusion of *h* with *m* see the latter part of n. 41 and cf. *w'sm* (E.VI, 68, 8; 178, 8) and *w'sht* (E.VI, 178, 13) *Wb.* does not record this verb under the form *w'sht*, though it cites (I, 373, 4) the obviously related noun *w'sht* 'Ramph-stier'. For another example of *h'ht* see      'who assaulteth him who attacketh him', E.IV, 66, 6; see also V, 48, 2.

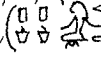
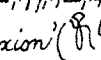
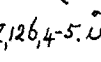
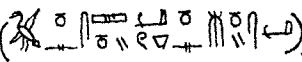
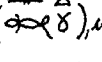
22. See also E.VI, 178, 1, and cf., perhaps, Schäfer, *ZÄS* XLIII, 75. For   = *h'mw* 'dust' see *Wb.* III, 277, 15. Does      E.IV, 51, 9, mean 'thou hast stirred up (lit. 'hacked up') the dust'?

23. Probably    is due to confusion between *h'w* and *h'* and the correct reading is that of E.IV, 213, 14-24, 1,      'who casts (his harpoon) upon the mound of the Savage Beast'. For *h'* 'fighter' as a name of the hippopotamus see also *Wb.* I, 217, 6. As Gardiner has remarked to us, *h'st* in most places un-

a) Cf. *nsw n Kmt hk' Fnhw* 'king of Egypt, ruler of the Phoenicians', E.III, 241, 15; and *nsw n Bikt hk' Fnhw*, D.III, 120, 16-17.

doubtedly means 'mound', Arabic 'tell', here, probably, a low, muddy mound, overgrown with reeds and rushes, rising out of the swamps. Such a 'mound' was also haunted by the crocodile; see  'he slays the crocodile upon its mound', E.VI, 239, 4.

24. The Fen-goddess frequently figures in the processions of so-called Nile-gods which are so conspicuous a feature in the wall-decoration of Graeco-Roman Egyptian temples. The goddess bears on her head the sign  and carries in her hands the products of her domain, which in E.III, 142, 7-8, are designated  'the good gifts of the Fen-goddess'. According to E.II, 163, 11-12, she is 'lady of the catch (hbt), mistress of hbs-birds (see E.VI, 74, 7), who created fish and fowl (rsf), who made the hdw-birds, mother of the grw-birds, queen of the ro-geese, who cares for the nestlings (hrpt tyw)'. E.VIII, 124, 13, states that the wild fowl are her children (msw Sht), while E.IV, 199, 9-10, calls her 'mother of the wild fowl' (mwt ipdw). Other references are E.II, 164, 3; III, 142, 11; VI, 256, 11 (where the king is said to be suckled by this goddess); VII, 81, 13-14; 92, 2 (where the king appears as her offspring, ms n Sht). See also Sethe ap. Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sakhw-rē, II, 88, 101, 119; Gardiner, Personification (Egyptian), 9, (j), 3, in Hastings, ERE IX, 792.

25. The goddess of spinning and weaving and the maker and provider of various ceremonial garments and bandages; see Sinuhe, B192, and Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, 69; Personification (Egyptian), 9, (g), 3, in Hastings, ERE IX, 791. According to a text at Edfu, which equates her with Wt-hk3w, E.II, 30, 3, her father is Rē, while another text of similar origin, E.II, 163, 15 (see also D.IV, 125, 5-6), identifies her with Isis and makes her daughter of Nut. We are told that she was born () in Denderah, D.II, 225, 6, and she seems to have had some special connection with the chapel called pr-nw, which lay just to the south-west of the sanctuary in Hathōr's great temple there, D.II, 225, 6; 227, 7. Both at Edfu and Denderah Hedjhotpe, the god of weaving and clothing, was evidently regarded as her consort, E.II, 177, 1; III, 140, 16; 286, 17; VII, 307, 5; D.II, 102, 8; 120, 9; 227, 11; III, 119, 6-7; IV, 36, 15-16; 23, 10; 106, 11-12; 120, 6-7. She is of 'pale complexion' () we are informed, and 'more turquoise-bright than the Ennead' () D.IV, 126, 4-5. Jayt, says a text at Denderah, is 'mother of the gods, mistress of the goddesses, who arrays the images (shmw) in her handiwork, gives sweetness to their flesh, clothes their bodies and gives health to their frames', D.IV, 101, 12-13; see also 179, 10-14; 265, 13-14. Another Denderah text states that it is she 'who purifies the goddesses, who did spin of old and was the first to weave' () who made the dr-garment and fashioned the ntry-cloth', D.IV, 125, 5-6; see also E.II, 163, 15-16. The 'white cloth' (hdt), in which Hathōr is clad, is made by her (k'it n Tyt), D.IV, 113, 9-11; the 'red-cloth' (idmē), too, is her handiwork, D.IV, 29, 3-4; as are also the wrappings in which 'the swnsu-gods of the Seat of Rē' are arrayed, D.IV, 144, 5-7. Furthermore, she is 'mistress of the x-bandages', and, identified with Hathōr, is 'lady of the fillet' () who fashioned the ntry-clothing (see also D.II, 120, 4-5) for her pleasure', D.IV, 104, 11-12. The ceremonial wrappings of the cultu-

images in the temples are called 'the great adornments' ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$) of Tayt', D. IV, 106, 3-4 , while 'the beautiful clothes' which are 'to beautify the body' of Khnum have been woven by the goddess herself ($\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔}$), E. V, 190, 7-8 ; see also VIII, 158, 7 . Two texts at Denderah D. IV, 179, 10-14 ; 265, 13-14 , represent Tayt as personally arraying Hathor in her ceremonial clothing. In D. IV, 179, 11 , it might be noted, the making of the white cloth, ascribed elsewhere, as we have just seen, to our goddess, is spoken of as the 'excellent handiwork' of Isis and Nephthys (rhty).¹ Finally it should be remarked that the king, when presenting divinities with the various ceremonial cloths, is designated 'the express image' ($\text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$) of Tayt, D. III, 119, 11 ; IV, 56, 15-16 , or her son, E. III, 140, 16 or, again, he is said to have been 'engendered' (wtt) by her, E. III, 286, 17 ; D. II, 102, 8 , III, 12, 7-8 ; 119, 6-7 , or, yet again, to be the child 'whom she nursed while yet in his swaddling-clothes' ($\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$), D. IV, 111, 5 (see also D. II, 120, 9 ; 227, 11 ; IV, 23, 10 ; 120, 6-7 ; E. II, 177, 17), or whom 'she dandled on her knees' ($\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$), E. VII, 307, 5 . For Tayt in a procession of Nile-gods see *Dixon, Medamoud, 1925, Inscriptions*, p. 60.

26. This ejaculation occurs again in E. V, 79, 7 ; cf. $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$ Kenmet and Desdes cry alack!'. *Lrk. VII, 15, 20*. Kenmet is the oasis of Khargah, see Gauthier, *op. cit.*, V, 204, f. For Seth's connection with Kenmet see Roeder in Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. u. römisch. Mythologie*, IV, 732; see also E. I, 469, 2 , and *Lrk. VII, loc. cit.* In E. IV, 125, 7 , Seth appears in connection with Šfyt , a district which, according to Gauthier, *op. cit.*, V, 133, formed part of the oasis of Desdes (Bahriyah).

27. Practically the same sentence occurs again in E. V, 74, 3 , while the words of Isis, 'the boat is light and he who is in it is a child' are also to be found in E. V, 217, 7 (Myth D). We were inclined at first to regard ndr hr ndr in both these passages as a parenthesis and translate: '(yet) you Caitiff who is in thy rope—hold fast, Horus, hold fast—the sixth (eighth) harpoon is stuck fast in his ribs (hindquarters)'.¹ But since ndr hr ndr , apart from these two apparent exceptions, always rounds off a section, we now suspect that both here and in E. V, 74, 3 , a verb has fallen away, and that in the light of E. VI, 69, 10 , the verb in question is hr . Note also that our original translation left the sixth and eighth, unlike the other harpoons, without specific introduction, yet both $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ and $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ head a new line as though starting a new section. We now, therefore, propose to read: $\text{hnty pfy nty m nrh k} < \text{hr} >$, hr being 3^d pers. sing. masc. of the Old Perfective. Cf. with these two passages that in E. IV, 213, 9-10 , and that in Duemichen, *Geogr. Inschr.*, III, 19, where Horus is described as 'Valiant in the fray', $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗} \text{𓆘} \text{𓆙} \text{𓆚} \text{𓆛} \text{𓆜} \text{𓆝} \text{𓆞} \text{𓆟} \text{𓆠} \text{𓆡} \text{𓆢} \text{𓆣} \text{𓆤} \text{𓆥} \text{𓆦} \text{𓆧} \text{𓆨} \text{𓆩} \text{𓆪} \text{𓆫} \text{𓆬} \text{𓆭} \text{𓆮} \text{𓆯} \text{𓆰} \text{𓆱} \text{𓆲} \text{𓆳} \text{𓆴} \text{𓆵} \text{𓆶} \text{𓆷} \text{𓆸} \text{𓆹} \text{𓆺} \text{𓆻} \text{𓆼} \text{𓆽} \text{𓆾} \text{𓆿} \text{𓇀} \text{𓇁} \text{𓇂} \text{𓇃} \text{𓇄} \text{𓇅} \text{𓇆} \text{𓇇} \text{𓇈} \text{𓇉} \text{𓇊} \text{𓇋} \text{𓇌} \text{𓇍} \text{𓇎} \text{𓇏} \text{𓇐} \text{𓇑} \text{𓇒} \text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘} \text{𓇙} \text{𓇚} \text{𓇛} \text{𓇜} \text{𓇝} \text{𓇞} \text{𓇟} \text{𓇠} \text{𓇡} \text{𓇢} \text{𓇣} \text{𓇤} \text{𓇥} \text{𓇦} \text{𓇧} \text{𓇨} \text{𓇩} \text{𓇪} \text{𓇫} \text{𓇬} \text{𓇭} \text{𓇮} \text{𓇯} \text{𓇰} \text{𓇱} \text{𓇲} \text{𓇳} \text{𓇴} \text{𓇵} \text{𓇶} \text{𓇷} 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For *n(n)int* 'unhindered' see *Wb.* I, 102, 5. The reduplicated form *intnt* preceded by *n(n)wn*, and also meaning 'unhindered', is likewise not uncommon, e.g. *E.* I, 78, 4; 116, 12; 312, 2; II, 245, 4; III, 154, 2; V, 110, 14. (with variants) in the combination is, however, almost certainly a miswriting of the verb *ind* 'be afflicted', 'sorrowful'. Exx. are *E.* VII, 279, 4; M, 131, 19; 170, 6. The noun *ind* 'affliction', 'mourning', appears more or less correctly written in 'there is no sorrow in thy path', *E.* I, 559, 6-7.

29. This phrase occurs, *E.* VII, 178, 3-4. Other instances of the verb *hrst* used with *wdjty* are *E.* I, 432, 14; 561, 16; IV, 108, 4; VII, 102, 14; D. IV, 31, 6. In *E.* V, 302, 16, the goddess *Mhyt* says: 'I make ruby-red my sight to repress those who rebel against thee'; see also *Grapow, Bildl. Ausdrücke*, 56.

30. Restoring ; cf. *E.* VII, 72, 10.

31. The parallel passage, *E.* II, 45, 5-6, shews that the signs are to be restored before *'k m bi:k*, and these exactly fill the lacuna. For the meaning of *'k m* in conjunction with *dr* 'hand' see *Wb.* I, 230, 15. The idea evidently is that as soon as the hunter has hurled his harpoon, held in his right hand, both hands are free to control the rope attached to the blade.

32. Is *smnh* a causative, not recorded in *Wb.*, of the verb *mnh* 'to chisel'? If so, it must mean something like 'chisel at'. For an example of the use of the verb *mnh* 'chisel' in an Edfu text see 'I chisel at the entrails of those who are ill-disposed toward thee', *E.* VII, 178, 6. Perhaps we should also read *mnh* in our passage instead of *smnh*, the *s* being a mistake of the Ptolemaic sculptor or scribe who was unacquainted with what, judging from the exx. cited by *Wb.* II, *Belegstellen*, p. 121, may at his time have been an obsolete word.

33. We seem here to have a reference to the cutting off of the heads of *Florus'* enemies which took place at Letopolis; see Junker, *Onurislegende*, 41. *Pyr.* 3 1211a apparently represents these enemies as serpents, for which that passage uses the word *s3/bwt*. For the reading of our text we are dependent upon Naville, for and the upper part of are now missing. Accordingly we suggest that should be emended (see *Wb.* IV, 18, 2), though one would expect . However, *s3/bwt* is written in M. 134, 10, where *Hathor* is said to be their mistress. The same goddess appears as 'noble lady (*s3bst*) of the *s3bt*-snakes ()' in *E.* V, 258, 11, and VII, 167, 11. It is just possible, of course, that is a scribe's error. But, be that as it may, we feel little doubt as to the correctness of our translation and interpretation of the words in question. The stage-direction evidently introduces a special episode into the scene and thus causes a break in the main action. We presume that after the exhortation to eat the flesh and drink the blood of the foe a representation of the happenings at Letopolis was enacted, and that possibly there was a ritual eating and drinking before the scene, the progress of which was thus interrupted by this interlude, was continued.

The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II. C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies a Sacred Drama
(Concluded)

Author(s): A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman

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THE MYTH OF HORUS AT EDFU—II

By A. M. BLACKMAN and H. W. FAIRMAN

C. THE TRIUMPH OF HORUS OVER HIS ENEMIES

A SACRED DRAMA

(Concluded)

ACT II

THE REJOICING OVER THE VICTORY

SCENE I

EXHORTATION TO HORUS IN HIS WAR-GALLEY AND TO THE HARPOONERS

Published: Naville, *op. cit.*, pl. VII; *E.* VI, 78–81; XIII, pls. DVII–DVIII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. A large ship, its sail distended with the wind. In the middle of the vessel stands Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of Mesen, who with his right hand thrusts his harpoon into the snout of a hippopotamus. In his left hand he holds the ends of two ropes which are doubtless attached to the blades already lodged in the animal's body.^a Isis squatting in the bow holds two similar ropes. On shore, facing the ship, is the King—wearing the head-dress of Onuris^b—who harpoons the hippopotamus in the back of the head. Behind the King are two running men, each carrying a harpoon and a dagger.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen	Horus
	Isis	Isis
	The King	—
	The royal children and crew of Horus, the Harpooners of Horus, lord of Mesen, and of Horus of Behdet (repre- sented by the two running men)	The Young Harpooners ^c
	—	Reader
	—	Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A. Above Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen: [81, 8] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, who holdeth fast, pilot in his war-galley, who hurleth his thirty-barbed harpoon at the snout of the Hippopotamus, while his mother protecteth him.*^d

B. Above Isis: [81, 7] *Isis the great, the god's mother.*

C. Above the King: [78, 11] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of*

^a See *JEA* XXIX, 5, n. f.

^b See Junker, *Onurislegende*, 2 ff.

^c Addressed by Isis, *E.* VI, 80, 11.

^d According to *Wb.* v, 201, *gs-dp(t)* perhaps originally meant a 'watch on board ship' (*Bordwache*), so, as Gardiner observes, the employment of the expression *m gs-dp* here is particularly apt, since Isis is on board in the prow.

Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), the harpooner of upright carriage,^a [when wielding] the three-barbed harpoon.³⁵

D. Above the two running men: [79, 1] *The royal children and crew of Horus, the Harpooners of the lord of Mesen, the valorous Harpooners of Horus of Behdet, who thrust to make an end of his enemies, adepts at holding fast, stalwart hero(es), whose weapons reach (the mark), who pierce^b the deep water, whose shafts flash behind the robber-beasts, whose blades seize on their flesh, whose arms are strong when dragging the foes, and they reach Mesen rejoicing greatly.*

E. In a single horizontal line above the relief: [79, 5] *Come, let us hasten to the Pool of Horus,³⁶ that we may see the Falcon in his ship, that we may see the son of Isis in his war-galley, like Rē in the Bark of the Morning.^c His harpoon is held firmly in his grip, as (in that of) Horus of the Mighty Arm.^d He casteth and draggeth,^e that [he] may bring captive the Hippopotamus and slay the Lower-Egyptian Bull. Rejoice, ye inhabitants of Retribution-Town! Alack, alack, in Kenmet!^f*


DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [CHORUS.] [79, 8] *Seize thy dm̄t,³⁷ come down and stand fast, (having^g) thine adornments which belong to Hedjhotpe,³⁸ thy net which belongeth to Min, which was woven for thee and spun for thee by Hathor, mistress of the th̄-plant.³⁹ A meal of forelegs is assigned thee, and thou eatest it eagerly (?). The gods of the sky are in terror [79, 10] of Horus.^h Hear ye the cries of Nēhes! Steady, Horus! Flee not because of them that are in the water, fear not them that are in the stream. Harken not when he (Seth) pleadeth with thee.*

(b) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

(c) [ISIS.] *Take to (lit. 'seize') thy war-galley, my son Horus whom I love, the nurseⁱ which dandleth Horus upon the water, hiding him beneath her timbers, the deep gloom of pines. There is no fear when [80, 1] backing^j (?) to moor, for the goodly rudder turneth upon its post^k like Horus on the lap of his mother Isis. The h̄ww are fixed upon the m̄sty,¹ like the vizier in the palace. The mast standeth firmly on the footstep, like Horus when he became ruler over this land. That beauteous sail of dazzling brightness is like Nut the great*

^a See JEA xxix, 4, n. c, where it was suggested that 'of erect bearing' might be a better rendering.

^b For this meaning of *qr* see Wb. v, 595, 11, and for that of *kbbt*, Wb. v, 25, 10. 11. ^c See Wb. II, 150, 15.


^d See Junker, *Omurislegende*, 19 f. Here again Horus, the youthful son of Isis, is differentiated from the old war-god of Edfu, *Hr tms-r*. In the next sentence after *p h̄wb* restore [—] .


^e I.e., having hurled his harpoons he pulls at the ropes attached to the blades, which are stuck fast in the body of the hippopotamus, in order to drag it in and give it the *coup de grâce*; see JEA xxix, 5, n. f.




^f See Commentary, n. 26.

^g We would emend <hr> *hkrw-k* and we take the $\overline{\text{h}}$ preceding *Hd̄-h̄tp* to be a writing of the genetival *n* parallel to the \bigcirc before Min. For the 'net of Min' see E. vi, 64, 4.

^h These words and the following exhortations occur again in E. vi, 81, 1-3. For *imyw-mw* see Commentary, n. 9. ⁱ Cf. E. vi, 76, 9-10; vii, 152, 9; and JEA xxix, 18, with n. b.

^j  must be the infinitive (after the preposition *m*) of the verb *rki*, which regularly denotes hostility and opposition. We suggest, therefore, that as some manœuvre connected with the rudder (or rather steering-oar) seems to be indicated here, *rky(t)* means to 'back astern', with a view to bringing the ship into a suitable position for mooring.

^k The suffix *·s* shows that  is a writing of *hmyt*, Wb. III, 81, 12. Glanville, ZÄS LXVIII, 27, n. 81, and Jéquier, *Bull. Inst. fr.*, IX, 47, have mistaken the meaning of *wdb*.

¹  and  have not been identified; see also Glanville, ZÄS LXVIII, 16 f., n. 32; 24, n. 64; Jéquier, op. cit., IX, 63, (21). For  'footstep' see Wb. III, 205, 1.


(wrt) when she was pregnant with the gods. The two lifts,^a one is Isis, the other Nephthys, each of them firmly holding^b what appertaineth to them upon the yard-arms,^c like brothers by one mother mated in wedlock.^d [80, 5] The rowlocks^e are fixed upon the gunwale like the ornaments of princes. The oars beat on either side of her (i.e. the ship) like heralds^f when they proclaim the joust.^g The planks adhere closely together and are not parted the one from the other. The deck^h is like a writing-board filled with the imagesⁱ of goddesses. The baulks in the hold^j are like pillars standing firmly in a temple. The belaying-pins (?) in the bulwarks^k (?) are like a noble snake whose back is concealed. The scoop^l of real lapis lazuli (ḥsdb) baleth out the water as fine unguent,^m while the iyh-weedⁿ scurries^o in front of her like a great snake [80, 10] into its hole.^p The hawser^q is beside the post^r like a chick beside its mother.

(d) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!

(e) [READER.] Isis said to the Young Harpooners when she saw their shapely hands:

(f) [ISIS.] Assault ye the foe, slay ye [81, 1] him in his lair, slaughter ye him in his [(destined) moment^s] here and now! Plunge your knives into [him] again and again!^t


The gods of the sky are in terror of Horus.^u Hear ye the cry of Nēhes. [Steady, Horus!] Flee not because of them that are in the water, fear not them that are in the stream. Harken not when he (Seth) pleadeth with thee . . . holden (?) in thy grasp, my son Horus.

^a Such, we suggest, is the meaning of ; see also Jéquier, op. cit., IX, 72, (37), who, however, in op. cit., IX, 71, (33), interprets the words quite differently.

^b For *mḥ m* see *Wb.* II, 119.

^c See *Wb.* IV, 324, 14; *Peasant B*¹, 58 = Gardiner, *JEA* IX, 9, with n. 6.

^d The words *hr irt m ḥmw* mean lit. 'having intercourse with women'. With *iri m* cf. the Arabic *فعل في*.

^e The objects described are evidently, in view of their position, leather loops through which the handles of the oars were passed and which, therefore, served as rowlocks. For  'gunwale' see *Wb.* IV, 43, 1.

^f For *kmw* (?) 'heralds' see *Wb.* V, 38, 4.


^g Or more accurately, perhaps, 'prize-fight' or 'game of single-sticks', Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, p. 166. Cf. also the determinative of *ḥmw*, *Pyr.* § 289c.

^h Cf. Glanville, *ZAS* LXVIII, 12, n. 17, and for *ʿn n sš* see *Wb.* I, 187, 13.




ⁱ This word is to be read *rpwwt*, *Wb.* II, 415, 11.

^j For *wndwt* 'hold' = Copt. *ⲱⲛⲁⲩⲱⲩ* see *Wb.* I, 326, 1; *P. Chester Beatty*, No. III, 9, 7. Gardiner, *Hierat. Pap. in the Brit. Mus., Third Series*, I, p. 18, not quite accurately translates the word 'hull'.



^k Such, we venture to suggest, are the meanings of *inbyw* and *myw*. The comparison between a belaying-pin in its socket and a snake in its hole is by no means inapt.


^l For the word  see Jéquier, op. cit., IX, 68, (28).




^m Reading *tpt n kn*, for which see *Wb.* V, 49, 15.


ⁿ  is probably a writing of , *Wb.* I, 39, 1. The word is written , *E.* I, 72, 9; VII, 259, 1. For actual representations of long trailing water-plants in front of a boat see e.g., Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi*, I, pl. v; Blackman, *Meir*, III, pl. IV. The word seems to have been quite misunderstood by Jéquier, op. cit., IX, 77, (45).

^o Or perhaps 'dashes' or 'is dashed', i.e., it is pushed forward violently by the ship as she advances rapidly over the water. Cf. the various meanings assigned to the simplex *tft*, *Wb.* V, 297.

^p We propose the emendation  .

^q See *Wb.* IV, 528, 6. The determinative is wrongly given as  by Jéquier, op. cit., IX, 77, (47), and the word translated 'maillet'.

^r See *Wb.* II, 207, 17. The word is incorrectly read  by Jéquier, op. cit., IX, 77, (46), his  being actually  = *gs*!

^s Restoring *m [t] f*.  = *m sp w*, lit. 'at one time'.

^t Lit. 'multiply (*srš·tn*) your knives in him'. Or are we to read *sdm·tn dm(wt)·tn im·f*, 'slash at him with your knives', lit. 'make your knives cleave to him'? For *sdm* see *Wb.* IV, 370, 12.

^u See p. 6, n. h.

Lay hold, Horus, lay hold on the harpoon-shaft. I,^a yea I, am the lady of the shaft. I am the beautiful one, the mistress of the loud screamer,⁴⁰ which cometh forth upon the banks and [81, 5] gleameth after the robber-beast,^b which rippeth open his skin, breaketh open (s3) his ribs and entereth. . . . I forget [not] the night of the flood, the hour of turmoil (pr h3).

(g) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

SCENE II

THE PEOPLE ACCLAIM HORUS CROWNED AND INVESTED WITH THE EMBLEMS OF THE KINGSHIP

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. VIII; *E.* VI, 82-4; XIII, pls. DIX-DX.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen, standing at the water's edge, pierces the head of a hippopotamus with his harpoon. To the left of this figure is a boat in which Horus of Behdet again appears, crowned, as usual, with the double crown and also holding the crook and whip. Behind him is Thoth, his right hand uplifted in the gesture of protection or blessing, and his left hand holding a papyrus roll and the ♀-symbol. On shore, facing the boat, is the Queen, jingling a pair of sistra. In her train are six women, in two rows of three, beating single-membrane drums. Those in the lower row represent the Lower-Egyptian princesses and the women of Busiris, those in the upper row the Upper-Egyptian princesses and the women of Pe and Dep.


DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen	Horus
	Thoth	—
	The Queen	The Queen
	The Upper- and Lower-Egyptian princesses and the women of Busiris, Pe, and Dep	The women of Busiris, Pe, and Dep
	—	Chorus ^c

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen: [84, 6] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen; Wenty^d who pierceth the Unsuccessful One, his foe; (even) Him with the Upraised Arm, who wieldeth the three-barbed harpoon in order to slay his enemies.*

A, 2. In front of Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen: [84, 7] *I cast my thirty-barbed harpoon at the snout of the Hippopotamus, I wound the foeman of Him who is on the Mound.^e*

B, 1. Above Horus of Behdet in the boat: [84, 1] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of the Upper-Egyptian crown, prince of the Lower-Egyptian crown, king of the king(s) of Upper Egypt, king of the kings of Lower Egypt, beneficent prince, the prince of princes.*

^a For this form of the 1st pers. sing. of the independent pronoun see Junker, *Gramm.*, § 55.

^b The three plural strokes under  must be a sculptor's error.

^c The princesses and other women here mentioned may well have constituted, or formed part of, the chorus for this scene, in which the dramatic text, as it stands, provides no narrative for the Reader.

^d See Commentary, n. 17.

^e Reading *tpy ist*; as Gardiner has remarked to us, a not inappropriate designation of Horus in this instance, for he is depicted standing not in a boat but on land. For *sbi* + prep. *hr* see also *E.* II, 85, 16; III, 253, 8; IV, 235, 16; V, 152, 4-5; VI, 236, 13; VII, 30, 1-2; 132, 5; 308, 14.

B, 2. In front of Horus of Behdet: [84, 2] *I receive the crook and the whip, for I am the lord of this land. I take possession of the Two Lands in (assuming) the Double Diadem. I overthrow the foe of my father Osiris as King of Upper and Lower Egypt for ever.*

C, 1. Above Thoth: [84, 4] *Utterance by Thoth, twice great, lord of Hermopolis, who judged the Two Gallants, pre-eminent in the Great Seat, great chief of the Greater Ennead (psdt ʿt), whom no other can replace.*

C, 2. In front of Thoth: [84, 5] *I overthrow thine enemies, I protect thy bark with my beneficent spoken spells.*

D, 1. Above the Queen: [82, 2] *The Queen and Mistress of the Two Lands, (Cleopatra), God's Mother of the Son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah).*

D, 2. In front of the Queen: [82, 3] *I make music for thy pleasure, O thou who shinest as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, thine enemies being in hordes^a beneath thee (hr.k).*

E, 1. Above the lower row of women: [82, 8] *The Lower-Egyptian princesses and the women of Busiris, rejoicing over Horus at his victory.*

E, 2. In front of no. 1: [82, 10] *We rejoice over thee, we delight in beholding thee, we exult at the sight of. . . .*

E, 3. In front of no. 2: [82, 11] *We raise thee joyful praise to the height of heaven, when thou punishest the misdeeds of thine enemy.*

E, 4. In front of no. 3: [82, 12] *We worship thee and hymn thy Majesty, for thou hast laid low the enemy of thy father.*

F, 1. Above the upper row of women: [83, 2] *The Upper-Egyptian princesses and the women of Pe and Dep rejoicing over Horus at his appearance in glory.*

F, 2. In front of no. 1: [83, 3] *We rejoice over thee, we are gladdened by the sight of thee, when thou arisest in brightness (for) us^b as King of Upper and Lower Egypt.*

F, 3. In front of no. 2: [83, 4] *We beat the tambourine^c for thee, we exult at seeing thee, when thou receivest the office of Harakhti.*

F, 4. In front of no. 3: [83, 5] *We make jubilation to thy similitude, when thou shinest for us like Rē shining in the horizon.*

G. In a single horizontal line above the relief: [82, 4] *How happy is thy countenance, now that thou hast appeared gloriously in thy bark, Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, like Rē in the Bark of the Morning, when thou hast received thine office with crook and whip, and art crowned with the Double Diadem of Horus, Sakhmet prevailing over him that is rebellious toward thee, Thoth the great protecting thee.^d Thine inheritance is thine, great god, son of Osiris, now that thou hast smitten the Lower-Egyptian Bull.^e Be glad of heart, ye inhabitants of the Great Seat, Horus hath taken possession of the throne of his father.*

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [QUEEN.] [83, 6] *Rejoice, ye women of Busiris and ye townsfolk^f*

^a See Blackman and Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 415, n. 58.

^b Emending (n)n.

^c The *tn* was actually not a tambourine but a single-membrane drum, the modern *ṭabl*, with which the word *tn* may well be etymologically connected.

^d Cf. the accompanying relief and E. vi, 83, 11–12.

^e Is = here merely a mistake or is 'thine enemy' or the like omitted after *hw-n-k*? If the latter surmise is correct *m k* *mhy* must be rendered 'in the guise of the Lower-Egyptian Bull'.

^f *Mrrt*: see *Wb.* II, 110, 9. 'Andjet was the capital of the ninth Lower-Egyptian (Busirite) nome; see Gauthier, *op. cit.*, I, 151 f.

beside 'Andjet! Come and see [Horus] who hath pierced the Lower-Egyptian Bull! He walloweth^a in the blood of the foe, his harpoon-shaft achieving a swift capture.^b He maketh the river to flow blood-stained,^c like Sakhmet in a blighted year.

(b) [CHORUS OF WOMEN OF BUSIRIS.] *Thy weapons plunge¹⁶ in mid-stream like a wild goose beside her young one(s).*

(c) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

(d) [QUEEN.] *Rejoice, ye women of Pe and Dep, ye townsfolk beside (r-gs) [83, 10] the marshes! Come and see Horus in the prow of his ship, like Rē when he shineth in the horizon, arrayed in green cloth, clad in red cloth, decked^d in his ornaments, the White Crown and the Red Crown firmly set on his head, the two uraei between his brows. He hath received the crook and the whip, being crowned with the great Double Diadem (ψχέντ), while Sakhmet abideth in front of him and Thoth protecteth him.^e*

(e) [CHORUS OF WOMEN OF PE AND DEP.] *It is Ptah^f who hath shaped thy shaft, Soker who hath forged thy weapons. It is Hedjhotpe^g in the Beauteous Place who hath made thy rope from yarn. Thy harpoon-blade is of sheet-copper, thy shaft of nbs-wood from abroad.^h*

(f) [HORUS.] *I have hurled with my right hand, I have swung with my left hand, as doth a bold fen-man.*

(g) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

ACT III

THE CELEBRATION OF THE VICTORY

SCENE I

THE FIRST DISMEMBERMENT OF SETHⁱ

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. ix; *E.* vi, 84-6; xiii, pls. dxi-dxii.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen, standing on the back of a hippopotamus pierces its forehead with his harpoon. Behind him is Isis, who supports the god's upraised left arm with her right hand. Facing them are nine divinities in two rows, four in the lower and five in the upper. Each divinity is supplied with an altar bearing that portion of the dismembered beast to which he or she is entitled.

^a Restore [𓂏𓂏], for which verb see *Wb.* i, 419, 8.

^b Possibly [𓂏] 𓂏𓂏𓂏 for 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏.

^c Lit. 'He pours out the river in the colour of blood'.

^d Verb *pgs* not in *Wb.*, but see *E.* iv, 344, 2-3, where *rgys·ti* is probably to be emended *pgs·ti*.

^e Cf. *E.* vi, 82, 5. For Sakhmet as the king's protectress see 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 (N.) 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 'The Son of Rē, King N., comes forth from his house under the protection of (*m nht n*) Sakhmet', *M.*, 121, 5.

^f See *JEA* xxix, 10, n. g.

^g See Commentary, n. 38.

^h For *ph n bi* see also *E.* iv, 344, 3; v, 154, 10; vi, 90, 21; 238, 9; and for *nbs n hst*, *E.* iv, 344, 3-4; *E.* vi, 90, 21.

ⁱ References to the dismemberment of Seth appear already in the Pyramid Texts, viz. *Pyr.* §§ 1546 ff.; 1867; see also Junker, *Onurislegende*, 55.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen	Horus
	Isis	Isis
	Osiris-Onnophris	Osiris-Onnophris ^a
	Haroeris	Haroeris
	Onuris	Onuris
	Wepwawet	Wepwawet
	Tefēnet	Tefēnet
	Khnum-Haroeris	Khnum-Haroeris
	Khnum, lord of Elephantine	Khnum, lord of Elephantine
	Nephthys	Nephthys
	Isis	Isis
—	—	Reader
—	—	Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen: [86, 1] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, who transfixeth the Hippopotamus and cutteth up his flesh, which is given as a meat-offering to every god.*

A, 2. In front of Horus: [86, 2] *Lift thee up, Osiris, great god, ruler of eternity. He who was hostile toward thee is dismembered.*^b

B, 1. Above Isis: [86, 3] *Utterance by Isis the great, Scorpion^c of Behdet, god's mother of Horus the Victorious Bull.*

B, 2. In front of Isis: [86, 3] *Be glad of heart, my son Horus. Thine enemy^d has fallen and is not.*

C. Beginning at the right end of the lower row, the nine divinities who partake of the dismembered hippopotamus are designated as follows: [84, 10–14] 1. *Osiris-Onnophris the triumphant*; 2. *Haroeris, pre-eminent in Letopolis*; 3. *Onuris*; 4. *Wepwawet*; 5. *Tefēnet, mistress of Mdd*; 6. *Khnum-Haroeris, whose feats are many*; 7. *Khnum, lord of Elephantine, great god, lord of the Cataract*; 8. *Nephthys*; 9. *Isis*.

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [READER.] [84, 15] *Isis opened her mouth to speak to her son Horus, saying:*^e

(b) [ISIS.] *If thou cuttest up thy [85, 1] great Hippopotamus, hasten thou unto me and draw nigh me that I may instruct thee. I say unto thee: Let his foreleg be taken to Busiris for thy father Osiris-Onnophris the triumphant. Consign his ribs to 'Iyt^f for Haroeris pre-eminent in Letopolis, while his shank^g (?) remaineth in This for thy great father Onuris. Consign his shoulder to 'Ibt^h for thy great brother Wepwawet. Consign his breast to Asyūt*

^a All these nine divinities are mentioned in the dramatic text, but, with the exception of Isis, they are not assigned speaking parts. ^b $\square \Delta$ reads *psšt*. ^c See Blackman and Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 419, n. 75.

^d Emend *hfty.k*.

^e See *JEA* xxviii, 33 with n. 7.

^f Name of the locality where the sacred trees of the second Lower-Egyptian (Letopolite) nome were venerated, see Gauthier, op. cit., I, 38; Junker, op. cit., 16.

^g 𓂏 not in *Wb.*, but found, Gardiner tells us, written $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ and following simple *hps*, Onomasticon of Amenopē, No. 591; cf. also *Pyr.* § 1546 a, where $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'his upper foreleg' is contrasted with $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'his lower foreleg', 'shank'.

^h *Ibt*, according to Gauthier, op. cit., I, 65, is a name for Hermopolis Magna.

for Tefēnet mistress of Mdd.^a Give his thigh to Khnum- [85, 5] Haroeris,^b him whose feats are many, great god lord of the knife,^c lord of strength, who overthroweth the foes, for he is thy great brother. Give the large meat-portion of him to Khnum, lord of Elephantine, great god, lord of the Cataract, that he may increase the crew of thy war-galley.^d Give his rump to Nephthys, for she is thy great sister. Mine is his forepart, mine is his hinderpart, for I am she who rescued the heart of the Weary-Hearted One,^e him whose heart failed. Give his bones to the cats, his fat to the worms, his suet^f (?) to the Young Harpooners, that they may know the taste of his flesh. (Give) the whole forepart to their children, that they may perceive (?) [85, 10] the sweetness of his form, and the choice portion of his limbs to thy followers, that they may savour the taste of his flesh. So shall they drive thy harpoon deep (?) within him,^g my son Horus, (even) the holy harpoon that hath entered^h into him, (into) that enemy of thy father Osiris.

(c) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

SCENE II

AN INTERLUDEⁱ

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. x; E. vi, 86-7; XIII, pl. DXIII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen, accompanied by Isis, harpoons a small model of a hippopotamus in the middle of the back. Facing him the King harpoons the buttocks of the somewhat larger figure of a bound human captive.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

RELIEF

Horus Isis The King

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A. Above Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen: [87, 1] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, who captureth the Hippopotamus (nš) and cutteth up his flesh, which is given as a meat-offering to every god; who taketh the spear and turneth back the crocodiles, who layeth low the foes at the slaughter-block.*

B, 1. Above Isis: [87, 3] *Utterance by Isis the great, the god's mother, who dwelleth in Wetjset-Hor.*


B, 2. In front of Isis: [87, 3] *Behold I am come as the Mother from Chemmis,⁴¹ that I may make an end³⁴ for thee of the hippopotami. Prithee be strong,^j thou fierce Lion. Stand firm on thy feet against yon Hippopotamus and hold him fast.*

C, 1. Above the King: [86, 6] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah).*

C, 2. In front of the King: [86, 8] *Horus, he carrieth off the Hippopotamus to his*

^a *Mdd*, properly *Mddny*, is perhaps the modern Dronkah, Gauthier, op. cit., III, 26.

^b See Junker, op. cit., 16 f.

^c So Junker, *Onurislegende*, 16; see also *Wb.* II, 171, 6-7; 182, 10. Or should we emend  = Atfih, see Gauthier, op. cit., III, 25?

^d This sentence suggests that Aswān was as famous for its boatmen in ancient as it is in modern times.

^e Lit. 'who rescued the Weary-Hearted One, (more exactly) his heart'; see above, *JEA* XXIX, 16, n. j.

^f For this meaning of *gmw* see *Wb.* v, 176, 8. The fat about the kidneys is considered a great dainty by the modern Fellāḥin, and Blackman has seen men eating this fat raw while engaged in cutting up a newly slaughtered sheep.

^g Lit. 'make long (?) thy harpoon in him'.

^h See *Wb.* IV, 301, 2.

ⁱ This 'Interlude' was possibly a mime, as there is no dramatic text accompanying the relief.

^j Reading *nht nī*.

residence (ḥnw·f) in *Pe* and *Mesen*. *Rejoice, O ye of Retribution-Town, Horus hath overthrown his enemies. Be glad, ye citizens of Denderah, . . . stabbed him who was disloyal to him,^a and he existeth not.*

D. In a single horizontal line above the relief: [86, 11] *The noise of rejoicing resoundeth in Mesen, gladness issueth from Behdet, for Horus hath come that he may slay the Nubian and his confederates in [the place of slaughter^b] (?)*. *He hath cut off his head, he hath cut out his heart, he hath drowned him in his own blood. Wetjset-Hor and Denderah are in jubilation. Alack, alack, in Kenset!*

SCENE III

THE SECOND DISMEMBERMENT OF SETH

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. XI; *E.* VI, 87–90; XIII, pl. DXIV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. A butcher cuts up the figure of a hippopotamus^c with a knife. Behind him Imhotep, wearing a leopard-skin vestment over a long linen robe, recites from a papyrus roll which he holds in both hands. Behind him, again, the King pours grain from a cup into the open beak of a goose.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	———	Isis
	Butcher	Butcher
	Imhotep	Chief Lector ^d
	The King	The King ^e
	———	Prophets, fathers of the god, and priests



SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A. In front of the butcher: [87, 7] *The [skilled] butcher^f of the Majesty of Rē (?), who cuts up the Hippopotamus, dismembered¹⁵ upon his hide.*

B. Above Imhotep: [87, 9] *The Chief Lector, scribe of the sacred book(s), Imhotep the great, son of Ptaḥ.*

C. Above the king: [87, 10] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rē, (Blank).*


DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [ISIS.] [87, 11] *Thou seizest thy harpoon and doest what thou wilt (?) with it, my son Horus, thou lovable one.*

(b) [CHIEF LECTOR.] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptaḥ), is triumphant in the Broad Hall, he hath overthrown the Mntyw of all the countries of Asia. Lo, he is triumphant^g in the Broad Hall, he hath suppressed his enemies, [88, 1] he hath taken hold of his (sic) back, he hath clutched the foes^h (?) by their forelocks.*

^a The presence of the 3rd pers. sing. masc. suffix in *wn mw·f* seems to demand 'Horus hath stabbed' rather than 'I have stabbed'.  is immediately followed by what looks like the lower half of , behind which is an almost entirely obliterated sign which we cannot identify; see *E.* XIII, pl. DXIII. ^b See Chassinat's n. 9.

^c This was a cake or loaf of bread moulded in the shape of a hippopotamus, see *E.* VI, 88, 1.

^d The functions, which in other scenes we have assigned to the 'Reader', were surely, in this scene at least, performed by a Chief Lector (*hry-ḥbt* <*hry-tp*>, see *E.* VI, 88, 2), who possibly impersonated Imhotep; see *JEA* XXVIII, 36.

^e The king is alluded to in the dramatic text, but is assigned no speaking part. ^f Reading *mnḥwy* [*mnḥ*] *nt ḥm n Rē*; see Chassinat's n. 7 and *E.* VI, 142, 12. In Commentary, n. 6,  is, probably wrongly in this context, read *rh*. ^g Emending *sk sw mꜣꜥ-ḥrw m wsḥt*.

^h *Ḥm·sn* is probably a mistake for *ḥmw* and *mꜣꜥ* for *dꜣꜣ*; see *Wb.* III, 280, 8; *E.* IV, 371, 3; V, 37, 7.

(c) [STAGE-DIRECTION.] BRINGING IN THE HIPPOPOTAMUS IN THE FORM OF^a A CAKE BEFORE (?) HIM-WITH-THE-UPLIFTED-ARM. DISMEMBERING BY THE BUTCHER. RECITAL OF THIS BOOK AGAINST HIM BY THE CHIEF LECTOR ON THE TWENTY-FIRST DAY OF THE SECOND MONTH OF PRŌYET.

(d) TO BE SPOKEN BY THE PROPHETS, THE FATHERS OF THE GOD, AND THE PRIESTS: *Be glad, ye women of Busiris, Horus hath overthrown his enemies. Rejoice, ye inhabitants of Wetjset-Hor, Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, hath overthrown yon foe [88, 5] of his father Osiris. O Onnophris, thy strength is (restored) to thee, they who are in . . . fear thee; the lords of the thrones shout in joy to thee.*

This is Horus, the protector of his father Osiris, who fighteth with his horns, who prevaieth . . . seizing the Perverse One; who smiteth the foes.

(e) [STAGE-DIRECTION.] BRINGING IN THE GOOSE, POURING^b GRAIN INTO ITS MOUTH. TO BE RECITED:

[CHIEF LECTOR.] . . . [Horus], son of Isis, son of Osiris, on this auspicious day, by the hand of (?) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rēc, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), who hath come from (?) . . . [88, 10] his Kindly (?) Snake; he hath illumined the Two Lands with his beauty, his Holy Eyes and his Darling Eyes being open (?) . . . with his fiery breath . . . gore, in order to restrain the body of him who is disloyal to him. The flame, [89, 1] it consumeth the body . . . of him that plotteth against (?) him. Hurrah for Horus daily, a joy to his father every day, who maketh impotent^c [him who?] . . . the heart (?) against him, who maketh an end^d of him that trespasseth against him.

Triumphant is Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, over his enemies.^e He is fallen. (To be repeated) four times. Triumphant are Hathor, mistress of Denderah, and Thoth, twice great, lord of Hermopolis, over their enemies. (To be repeated) four times. Triumphant is the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rēc, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), over [89, 5] his enemies. (To be repeated) four times.

(f) [CHIEF LECTOR.] Horus in his strength hath united the Two Lands. Seth is overthrown in the form of a hippopotamus. The Falcon-goddess is come^f to the House of Horus and she saith to her son Horus:

(g) [ISIS.] *Thy foes bow down and are destroyed for ever, O thou Avenger of thy Father. Come that I may instruct thee. Consign his foreleg to the House of the Prince^g for thy father Osiris Rsy-wd^h, while his shank^h (?) remaineth in Dep for thy great father 'Ipy-shd. Let his shoulder be taken to Hermopolis (Wnw) for Thoth, the great one in the valley. Give his ribs to Great-of-Strength and his breast to Wnwt.ⁱ Give the great meat-portion of him to Khnum in the Temple (?), his neck to [89, 10] Uto of the Two Uraeus-goddesses (?), for*

^a ~~~~~ for *m*? Otherwise ~~~~~ is the genetical *n* and *p hwb n sꜣ(t)* is to be rendered 'the hippopotamus of šꜣt-bread'.

^b See *Wb.* v, 142, 6; 156, 6.

^c See Faulkner's note on *P. Bremner-Rhind*, 23, 20, in *JEA* xxiii, 176.

^d See Commentary, n. 34.

^e Emending *hfty* 'enemy'.

^f Emending *ꜣꜣꜣꜣ*.

^g See Gauthier, op. cit., iv, 127-8; not, apparently, the *Hwt-ity* of Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 41, as the man inside *ꜣꜣ* does not carry a sceptre as well as a staff. *Rsy-wdꜣ*, the epithet of Osiris, means 'the Healthy Wakeful One', *Wb.* ii, 451.

^h See p. 11, n. g.

ⁱ See Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, §§ 16, 23, 32, 60.

she is thy great mother. Give his thigh to Horus the Primordial One,^a the great god who first came into being. Give a roast of him to the birds which execute judgement in *Dbꜣwt*.^b Give his liver to *Sepa*, and his fat to the disease-demons^c (?) of *Dep*. Give his bones to the *Hmw-iy(t)* (?), his heart to the Lower-Egyptian Songstress.^d Mine is his forepart, mine is his hinderpart, for I am thy mother whom he oppressed. Give his tongue to the Young [90, 1] Harpooners, the best of his inward parts^e (?) to. . . . Take for thyself his head, and (so) assume the White Crown and the office of thy father Osiris. What remaineth of him burn in that brazier of the Mistress of the Two Lands (?). *Rē* hath given thee the strength of *Mont*, and for thee, O Horus, is the jubilation (?).

EPILOGUE

DECLARATION OF THE TRIUMPH OF HORUS

Published: *E.* VI, 90; J. Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften*, I, pl. LXXXVIII.

There is no relief attached to the following text, which was no doubt recited by the Reader or Chief Lector, who, as he may have done in the preceding scene, possibly impersonated *Imḥotep*.

[READER OR CHIEF LECTOR.] [90, 3] *Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, is triumphant in the Broad Hall, and overthrown are the enemies of his father Osiris, of his mother Isis, of his father Rē, of Thoth, master of hieroglyphic writing, of the Ennead, of the Great Palace (Hwt-ꜣt),^f of Abydos, Coptus (Ntrwy),^g Hwt-ntr,^h Wetjset-Hor, Behdet, Denderah, and Khant-Iebt,ⁱ and of his Majesty himself, the Son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah).*

^a See Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, p. 46, n. 2.

^b Perhaps there is a reference here to the cult of the heron at *Dbꜣwt*, see Winlock, *JEA* IV, 12; Sethe, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1921, p. 35; Id., ap. Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-rē*, II, Text, p. 103.

^c See *Wb.* IV, 471; Breasted, *Edwin Smith Surgical Pap.*, p. 477.

^d See Blackman and Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 420 ff., n. 98.


^e *Wb.* I does not appear to record this word, but cf. possibly $\frac{\text{𓂏}}{\text{𓂏}}$ 'hold' of a ship, op. cit., 326, 1.




^f The temple of the sun-god at Heliopolis; see Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 54.

^g See Gauthier, op. cit., III, 108. Or perhaps we should read *'ntywy* (see Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 51), i.e. Antaeopolis?

^h Apparently the name of the *ꜣt-ntryt* 'holy mound' of Neref, the necropolis of Heracleopolis Magna; see *E.* VI, 124, 6.

ⁱ The fourteenth Lower-Egyptian (Tanite) nome, of which the capital was Sile (*Tꜣrw*); see Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 178, f.; Sethe, op. cit., § 78.

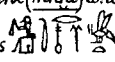
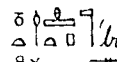




thee. 35. The reading is probably  *hy hit hyr hmt*; see E. VII, 62, 2, with our note there.



36. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, I, 124, has defined the Pool of Horus as 'un des noms du mer (grand canal ou bras du Nil, avec port d'attache de la barque sacrée) du II^e nome de Haute-Égypte (métropole Edfou), qui était plus souvent appelé  pa-*khen* et  pa-*khen nswt*'. Gauthier, therefore, clearly equates Š-*Hr* and Pj-*hn*. Pj-*hn* is undoubtedly the name of the canal at Edfu, which the great *Schenkungsurkunde* inscription (Brugsch, *Thes.* 531ff.) tells us was divided into a northern and a southern section (see E. VII, 235-236, passim) and was the 'sacred water' (mr ntry) of Edfu, E. VII, 236, 10. It must have been the channel by which the sacred boats from the temple reached the Nile. According to E. VI, 223, 6-9, the waters of this canal were replenished by those of the Nile at the season of inundation and they abounded in ro-goose and fish. The form Pj-*hn nsw* is very rare, but is apparently to be read in E. VI, 110, 2, where the canal is stated to be in the western half of the nome. In the case of  Hr sm (Pj-*hn* etc. or Hr, Pj-*hn nsw* etc. We incline to the former reading and render: 'upper Egyptian Nile, Pj-*hn*, Š-*Hr*, Ntry and Nt-*Pth* are the great names of the sacred waters of Mesen'. This text clearly regards Š-*Hr* and Pj-*hn* as synonyms of mr ntry and thus offers some support to Gauthier's view. Furthermore, the water used for libations and lustrations is not infrequently stated to have been drawn from Š-*Hr* (E. I, 65, 15-16; III, 45, 12; IV, 632; 218, 4-6; VI, 244, 6; VII, 191, 5-6) and Pj-*hn* (E. I, 325, 1; III, 22, 1; IV, 63, 5; 173, 5; 273, 6-9; V, 107, 9; VI, 244, 1; VII, 52, 14; 191, 6-9; X, 69, 7-8) indifferently. On the other hand, many texts seem clearly to distinguish between the two names, above all in the application to Pj-*hn* of the epithet mr ntry (E. III, 7, 9; V, 397, 1; VI, 183, 1; 244, 1; VII, 236, 10), a term only applied to Š-*Hr* in E. VI, 186, 6. Elsewhere Š-*Hr* is the s ntry of Edfu; see E. I, 359, 15; V, 397, 1. This distinction would seem to imply that mr ntry means, as a rule, a stretch of flowing water, though it can be employed as a more general term applicable to all sacred waters, whether canals or sacred lakes within the precincts of temples, whereas s ntry is always an exclusive term, meaning 'sacred lake' specifically. This view finds support in the name of the mr ntry at Dend-

37. $\frac{\text{ḥ}}{\text{ḥ}}\text{ḥ}$ can hardly be a writing of tm, 'the mat' upon which judges, kings and divinities are often described as sitting. If it were, then ndr tm would mean 'seize (i.e., occupy) thy throne', and be in parallelism with ndr ḥ 'take to thy war-galley' below. But an appeal to Horus of this nature does not suit the exhortation which follows. Perhaps dm is some derivative from dm 'bind', though no such noun with suitable meaning.

a) For Pool of the Hippopotamus, Sḥb, as a synonym for Sḥr see also E. I, 359, 15. Like the Pool of Horus it is referred to as a source of libation-water, E. IV, 218, 12. b) Where they had undergone purification, see Blackman, Purification (Egyptian), V, 1, in Hastings. ERE X, 480. c) See also E. VIII, p. xiii, where Chassinat definitely locates the sacred lake in this portion of the temenos. d) In their battle with Horus Seth and his confederates assumed the forms of hippopotami. - e) E. I, 507, 15; 521, 9; III, 79, 2; VI, 277, 17; 311, 5; 339, 14; M. 42, 15.

ing is recorded in *Wb.* Can it possibly mean 'haldric' or the like?

38. Hedjhotpe was the god of weaving and clothing and, as has been pointed out in n. 25 of this Commentary, was regarded both at Edfu and Denderah as the consort of Tayt. An Edfu text states that he is the son of Isis and appears to identify him with Shu, asserting at the same time that he was the first to make raiment (mrht) and to clothe the naked, E. II, 163, 14-15. The *Hwt-mrht* 'Chamber for Clothing' at Denderah is described as  'beautifully enriched with the handiwork of Hedjhotpe', D. IV, 111, 7, and he is said to be in this chamber  'in company with his iwy-garments in order to array Gold of the Gods', D. IV, 109, 8-9. At Edfu he is included among the divinities of a similarly named chapel, E. II, 25, (181), but he is also designated 'great god, who resideth in *Hwt-ntr* ()', E. II, 274, 1-2. The 'red cloth' (idmy), , of perfect finish and excellently bright, 'comes from his hand', D. IV, 106, 2-3, and the 'lordly *šrt*-garments' () are of his making (*hst*), D. IV, 106, 3, as is also the *št*-vestment, D. II, 102, 12. Such ceremonial raiment is not only termed the handiwork of Hedjhotpe, D. IV, 106, 3, 111, 7, 129, 6, but is also designated his  'great benefactions', D. IV, 144, 10. The texts occasionally speak of him as presenting the ceremonial clothing himself to a divinity, E. II, 164, 6; D. IV, 109, 8-9; but, as a rule, this act was supposed to be performed by the king, who then appears as his son and heir, E. I, 31, 3-4; II, 177, 17; III, 140, 16; 286, 17; VII, 307, 5; D. II, 102, 8; 120, 9; 227, 11; IV, 23, 10; 56, 16; 106, 11; 120, 6-7. A passage in our dramatic text suggests that he was the patron-divinity of rope-making as well as of weaving, E. VII, 83, 12-13.


39. *Th* 'intoxicant' is the name of an aromatic plant or sweet-smelling flower which has not yet been identified (*Wb.* V, 325). It is discussed at some length by Loret in *Rec. trav.* XVI, 152 ff., but the material, nearly all dating from the Graeco-Roman period, which has been assembled there by him, and that gathered by ourselves, does not make it possible to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the plant's identity. Loret, quoting Mariette, *Denderah*, I, 18, 2 (see also *M.* 185, 3) asserts that the *th*-plant was cultivated in Egypt and points out that its seeds or berries (*prt*) were employed medicinally; see, e.g., *P. Med. Berlin*, II, 2. He is probably right in maintaining that the manner in which it is mentioned along with certain aquatic plants (Mariette, *op. cit.*, I, 15b) does not necessarily imply that it was itself of that nature. It was especially associated with the goddess Hathor, who, as we have already seen, is designated 'mistress of the *th*-plant', and according to E. V, 169, 17 (see also E. V, 170, 2-3; Mariette, *op. cit.*, III, 66), necklaces of the *ush*-variety presented to that divinity were woven of *th*- and *ih(w)*-plants. Loret seems to be mistaken in supposing that there was an annual festival at Denderah called 'Festival of the *Th*-plant', for , etc., in the passages cited by him, are, judging from *Wb.* III, 431, 20, faulty writings of . Perhaps in













a) Or is this a misprint for *Hwt-mrht*?

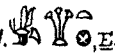

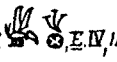
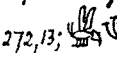
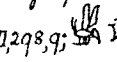

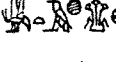
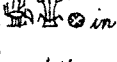






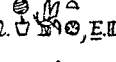
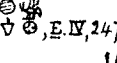
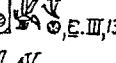
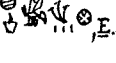
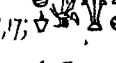
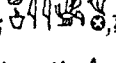
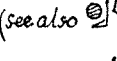

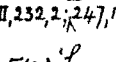
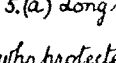
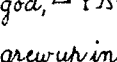
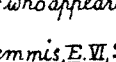
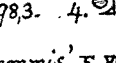
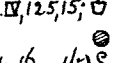
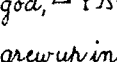
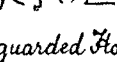
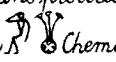

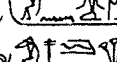
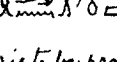
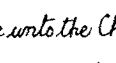


b) For Hedjhotpe in a procession of 'Nile-gods' see *Dieterici, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Medamoud*, 1925, *Inscriptions*, p. 60.


c) See also D. I, 80, 6, where there seems to be confusion between  and .

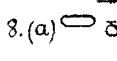


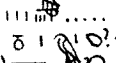
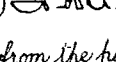

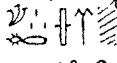


d) See further *ZAS* XLIII, 102.





our text also we are faced with a similar faulty writing and should render  'mistress of drunkenness' rather than 'mistress of the *th*-plant'. The seeds or berries of the plant in question were evidently aromatic, for they appear as an ingredient of *ti'sps*-unguent (E. II, 229, 4-9; VI, 167, 2-6) and of an ointment employed in the rite of Opening the Mouth, Duemichen, *Geogr. Inschr.*, II, pl. LXXXIV B. Finally 'water of *th*-plants' was used in the making of the green ink with which figures of Isis and Nephthys were outlined on the exterior of the bandages swathing the hands of a mummy, *Ret. de l'embaumement*, 8, 18 = Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, p. 37. Despite the number of passages in which the *th*-plant is mentioned, Loret's very tentative suggestion 'violet' seems highly improbable. Can it be the coriander (see Loret, *Rec. trav.*, xvi, 153)? This certainly suits several of the contexts and the name *th*, for the products of the coriander were supposed by the ancients to possess, among other properties, those of an intoxicant, a soporific, and an aphrodisiac, see Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, I, 41.

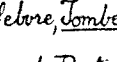


40. The primary meaning of *khb* is 'assault', with direct object (see above n. 21), and then 'be violent', 'act with violence', *Wb.* I, 137; *lurk.* VI, 21, 4. The verb is also used like *kh* 'rage furiously', 'roar', 'howl' (*Wb.* I, loc. cit.), e.g., 'He (Seth) hath walked with long strides in *Hwt-w'bt*            

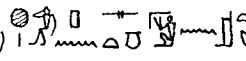

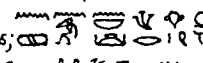

We have noted the following writings of Chemmis in the Edfu inscriptions: 1.  E. III, 231, 14;  E. III, 24, 8;  E. IV, 145, 7; 272, 13;  E. VI, 298, 9;  V, 1, E. IV, 120, 5. These writings of the name are evidently derived from earlier spellings - with  preposed for honorific reasons - such as  in *Syr.* 33, 1214 b, 1703c, 2190a, and  in an inscription of Hatshepsut, *Luk.* IV, 237, 10,  in the last example having the value *ḥ*. Whether  and its variants were still read *ḥ*-lity by tradition in Ptolemaic times is highly doubtful. Sethe (*ZÄS* xxx, 117 f.) thinks that in such writings of the late period  was assigned the phonetic value *ḥ*, while  (var. , ) was relegated to the position of determinative, the origin of the name having been forgotten. 2.  E. III, 135 q, M. 71, 15;  E. IV, 247, 11;  E. III, 135, 5;  E. III, 231, 17;  E. III, 153, 3; M. 147, 5;  E. VII, 65, 9. The last example (see also  I, 1, *P. Boulaq.* No. 3, 7, 9, qu. Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 56 q) displays the final *y* and shews that Sethe was correct in postulating the form *Ḥeh-ye*. In all these spellings, according to Sethe, *ZÄS* xxx, 118,  is employed as 'ein weniger allgemeines, unserem Namen specielleres Determinativ'. 3.  E. III, 232, 2;  247, 17; M. 92, 12, 150, 2;  E. VI, 139, 5; 301, 2; M. 98, 4;  E. VII, 74, 2; 298, 3. 4.  E. IV, 125, 15;  E. III, 135, 4. 5. (a) 'Long live the good god,  who appeared gloriously in Chemmis', E. VIII, 134, 16. (b)  who protected him who grew up in Chemmis, E. VI, 238, 4. (c) 'Uto, mistress of Re and Deft, who guarded Horus in  Chemmis', M. 85, 11. In these three examples  evidently possesses the value *hm* as it does in  *Hemryw*, 'Ogdoad' of Hermopolis, Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter*, 44 ff. 6. Horus is  the goodly stripling who came out of Chemmis', M. 116, 2. On the whole we think that *Ḥb(y)* is to be read here rather than *Mḥw* 'the Delta'. 7. 'It is the pleasure of Re and Horus,  it is like unto the Chemmis of their babe', E. VIII, 17, 5. We know of no other example of the writing , where , of course, reads *ḥ*.





We will now cite undoubted writings of Chemmis which closely resemble the  of our passage.




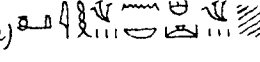
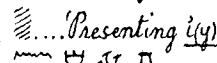



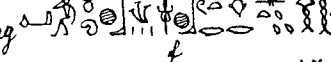

8. (a)  'her island of Chemmis in the region of the north', E. III, 311, 5. Is  a mistake for  or is it to be read *idḥwy*? (b)  the chapels of the gods.... woven like the booth in Chemmis', E. VI, 137, 11-12. (c)  I am Horus, son of Re, the holy falcon who came forth from the horizon in Chemmis, the noble child who came out of Egypt (*Bḥwy*), E. VI, 136, 4. In this passage  is clearly a place-name in parallelism with *Bḥwy* 'Egypt'. (d)  I give thee Chemmis and what is in it, the green thicket and what cometh out of it, E. VII, 135, 8.  evidently reads *wḥy* and is a spelling of *wḥy*, for which see *Wb.* I, 25 q, 10; cf.  = *wḥy* 'be glad', E. II, 42, 13-14.



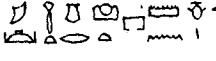
It was shown in iv. 10 of this Commentary that the signs  and  possess the same phonetic value in writings of the word for 'female animals'. It is not surprising, therefore, to find  replacing  in



- a) Cf. also  Lefebvre, *Tombeau de Petosiris*, II, 28, 1.  (with variants) is here a determinative. For the replacement of *h* by *m* see below, § 9. b) Restore  *Ḥly* is unquestionably masc. in E. III, 232, 2; see also § 9, (d).

writings of *Fibry*. q(a)  'this babe whom Isis hid in the reed thickets of Chemmis', E.VI, 299, 2. (b) 'Horus, son of Osiris, the legitimate son who came out of Buto,  the child of Chemmis', E.I, 402, 10. (c) 'The great snake-goddess of the brow of Ptē is on his brow, the holy *srb*-plant having been placed on his head, and he ties it on all his members;  the child of Chemmis is nigh his face, encircling his hair', E.III, 102-103. (d)  'I give thee Chemmis with what is in it, the Marsh-land with what cometh forth therefrom', E.II, 89, 12.

In the writings of Chemmis cited under 8 and 9, in which the phonetic signs are  or  and  can only read *hm*, while  originally = *it*, which so often replaces *h* in Ptolemaic spellings of *itr* and *itrē*, and *Trē* 'Philae', must here represent the final *y*. The replacement of *hb* by *hm* (cf. the Greek Χέμυς) is not difficult to explain. Sa'idic Coptic renders the Egyptian *h*, *h*, *h*, and less frequently the *h*, by *z*, whereas in the Bohairic dialect the two latter consonants are represented by *h* and in the Akhmimic by *z*. Thus, for example, in Sa'idic *hrw* 'voice' becomes *z* pooy; *hdb* 'kill' becomes *z* wTB; *phrt* 'remedy' becomes *π* Δ *z* pē; *h'sbs* 'lamp' becomes *z* HBC, see also Spiegelberg, *Kopt. Hier.*, 226, 231, 236, 239, 243, 248. The change of *h* into *m* finds many parallels in Coptic, e.g. *bw* 'place' becomes *MA*, *nb* 'all', *NIM*, *bw* *ir* *f*, *NEPEY*, *bw* *py*, *MPF*, *bw* *rh* *k*, *MEYAK*. It should also be pointed out that such a change of *h* into *m* can perhaps already be observed in Egyptian as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty; see Albright, *JEAS* XXX, 195 and 197, n.2.

10. Since both  and  have the value *hm*, the sign  occasionally, perhaps, takes their place in writings of Chemmis. (a)  'Presenting *iqy* *h* to the lord of Chemmis, green plants to the lord of the Marsh-land', E.II, 92, 4. (b)  (end) 'I give thee Chemmis with', E.II, 92, 10. For the determinatives  in these two exx. see above under 8 § 2, 4; 8(d); 9(b); and Griffith, *Rylands Cat.*, 209 and 223, n.18. It is, however, possible that in the last two passages we have writings not of Chemmis but of *hbw*, *Wb* III, 251, 2, or *hmqr*, *Wb* III, 81, 20, names of plants put to medicinal and magical uses. We are also very doubtful about  in E.II, 57, 18, and  in E.II, 108, 2. For an interesting example of *hbw* see E.IV, 255, 4, where Harsohtus says to the king  'I give thee *hbw*-plants mingled with carnelians. I place the Double Diadem on thy brow'. We are quite in the dark as to the reading of the plant name  E.VII, 209, 5.

11. How are  and  to be read in the two following passages? (a) *nh ntr nfr*  'Long live the good god, the-pillar supporting the horizon, patient while holding up the firmament', E.III, 39, 4. (b) *nh ntr*

a) Emend  here and in ex. (d). b) See the concluding section of n.10 of this Commentary. c) See, e.g., *Wb* I, 145; E.IV, 13, 4; VII, 1, 16. d) See Junker, *Götterdekret*, 3; Gauthier, *op. cit.*, I, 30, 47. The latter scholar, it might be noted, wrongly transcribes  *iaqyrak*. e) For other instances see Sethe, *Verbum*, I, § 210, 4. f) For similar spellings of *shmty* (cf. *ψχέτ*) see E.II, 285, 4; IV, 205, 2; 255, 5; VII, 308, 13.

Additions and Corrections to A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, 'The Myth of Horus at Edfu-II', in "JEA" XXIX-XXX

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
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

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO A. M. BLACKMAN AND H. W. FAIRMAN, 'THE MYTH OF HORUS AT EDFU—II', IN *JEA* XXIX–XXX.

JEA xxviii, 33, n. 9: After 77, 7 insert; 89, 7.





JEA xxix, p. 3, n. d: For further instances of *Hddt* = Isis see *E.* I, 265, 12; 273, 19; 315, 15; 359, 2; VI, 86, 3; VII, 120, 5; = Hathōr see *E.* v, 105, 9; perhaps *E.* I, 313, 1; = personification of Wetjet-Hor see *E.* VI, 278, 3–4. P. 4, n. c: Transl. 'of erect bearing', 'of upright carriage', finds support, in *dwn-i*

hst-i hr hry, *E.* v, 142, 15. For *hy* replaced by *ks*, written , in *ks hst-i hr hry*, 'I stand erect wielding the weapon', see *E.* v, 41, 13. P. 5, n. f: For weapon in right hand and rope in left see also *E.* v, 283, 10–12.

P. 5, n. g: Possibly in original version of passage referred to reading was not, as we have suggested, *mi ir shty kn*, but *mi irrt shty kn*, = lit. 'like what a bold fen-man does'. P. 7, ll. 20–21 = *E.* VI, 65, 8–9: If emendation in Chassinat's n. 1 is correct (cf. *E.* I, 560, 13) we should transl. 'The second lance which attacked (*tkn*) the Caitiff as he drew near'. For this meaning of *m wryf* see *Wb.* I, 246, 10, and above cited passage, *E.* I, 560, 13.




P. 9, l. 2 = *E.* VI, 68, 2: Transl. not 'wall of stone' but 'outwork (or 'shelter') of rare stone'; see Drioton, *Bull. Inst. fr.*, xxv, 11, n. f, who rightly reads *ibw* in this and other passages quoted by him, but is wrong in rendering  'roof'. As *E.* II, 121, 9 (cf. *E.* II, 107, 2) clearly shows it is a miswriting of . P. 9, l. 8 = *E.* VI, 68, 4–5: For *ch* 'palace' as fem. noun see also *E.* VI, 112, 5; 113, 3; *Wb.* I, 214. P. 9, n. h: *E.* I, 302, 10, suggests that this demon's name is after all *Kr-* (or perhaps *Nb-*) *Mrt* = Bull- (or Lord-) of-Truth. P. 10, n. j: After *Wb.* II, 475, read 4 not 41.





P. 11, n. f: More exx. of *tswt* 'teeth' occur *E.* IV, 269, 15; 286, 5; VII, 152, 16. P. 14, ll. 26–27 = *E.* VI, 75, 8: Perhaps transl. 'I repel from thy seat them who come with evil intent'. P. 15, l. 13 = *E.* VI, 73, 2: For 'his temple' read 'the House-of-the-Falcon (*Hwt-Bik*).'






P. 16, ll. 22 and 24 = *E.* VI, 74, 10: For  , transl. by us 'ready for the fray', see *Wb.* III, 147, 6, and for  , which we tentatively render 'inspiring fear', see *Wb.* III, 147, 13. P. 17, l. 30 = *E.* VI, 78, 8: Perhaps 'crunch' here rather than 'cut in pieces'.



P. 17, n. e: For more exx. of title *hm-gmhsu* see *E.* I, 359, 4; 544, 9; 571, 9; IV, 77, 5; VI, 102, 6; 153, 2; VII, 87, 14; *D.* IV, 18, 6. For priest in question as Shu see also *E.* VI, 152, 2; 155, 7–8; VII, 25, 13–14. For title *hm-Hr n Hr-nfr* see furthermore *E.* I, 571, 9; v, 148, 10. For yet other exx. of *hm-Hr* see *E.* I, 359, 4; v, 49, 12; VII, 30, 13; 31, 1; 33, 13; 59, 2; 81, 1; 87, 13.

JEA xxx, p. 9, ll. 7–8 = *E.* VI, 84, 5: For use of spells to protect ships see also *E.* VI, 128, 4 (where reciter is again Thoth), and *E.* III, 347, 12; v, 125, 2. 7. P. 10, l. 9 = *E.* VI, 83, 10–11: For *insy* see Drioton, *Bull. Inst. fr.* xxv, 6 with n. h; also *E.* IV, 344, 2.

COMMENTARY, n. 2: Other exx. of *Dns* with hippotamus-determ. occur *E.* I, 20, 2–3; 456, 12(?); v, 154, 18; VI, 62, 3. For two more exx. with hide-determ. see *E.* I, 309, 12; *D.* IV, 24, 12. In *E.* I, 346, 12, *Dns* is written . N. 4: For another ex. of  = *hn* see *E.* VII, 19, 4. N. 6, (a): For another ex. of *hbyw* with -determ. see *E.* v, 257, 2.

N. 6, (c):  , *E.* IV, 273, 16, in view of preceding , *hnwt*, possibly to be read *hnttyw* rather than *hityw*. N. 6, (f): For variant , *E.* I, 464, 14, see *Wb.* III, 96, 1–2; also *E.* I, 470, 1; II, 234, 6–7.

N. 6: Add (g) *bknw*; ex.    (demons who guard Osiris), *E.* I, 166, 17. To six occurrences of  (var. ) as an ideogram already cited eight more must be added, namely *E.* I, 464, 12, where following *n hmt-s* suggests reading *hnttyw*; *E.* VII, 284, 2, where, in view of *nt hnwt Fcg*, *hnttyw* should perhaps again be read; *E.* I, 309, 2, where parallelism with *wpwttyw* suggests reading *hbyw*. In the five following exx., *E.* v, 104, 6; 206, 8; 302, 11; 355, 6; VII, 301, 15, presence of *h* in adjacent words suggests reading *hityw*. N. 7: The temple library at Edfu is designated 'Library of Horus', *pr-mdj(w)t n Hr*, in *E.* III, 339, 9, and 'Library of Rē', *pr-mdj(w)t n Rē*, in *E.* III, 339, 12. In latter instance it is said to contain the 'Emanations of Rē', in former, the 'Emanations of Atum'. So far we have met with one other ex. of this variant of normal *bryw Rē*, *E.* III, 351, 11–12. With regard to the king it should be noted that as 'son of the lord of Hermopolis' he is, acc. to *E.* v, 41, 4–5, 'master of the Emanations of Rē'. He holds latter title also as 'excellent son of Isdes', and, at same time, not inappropriately

bears appellation 'compiler (?) of the service-book (*šsm ḥbyt*) like the lord of the *hḏn*-plant', *E.* IV, 57, 2. N. 9: A good ex. of  = *nrwt*, used in parallelism with *nrpwt*, occurs *E.* VII, 269, 8.  clearly reads *nrpt* in 